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JUGOSLAVIA'S EXPULSION of three thousand Hungarian citizens has come nearer to plunging Europe into war than any other event of the past fifteen years. Although tension had been rising along the Hungarian-Jugoslav frontier ever since the assassination of King Alexander, the action came virtually without warning, especially to the unfortunate peasants who were roused from their beds in the middle of the night and shipped across the boundary without adequate food or clothing. Few of the group deported were even alleged to have participated in political activities against the Jugoslav dictatorship, and many had declared their intention of assuming Jugoslav citizenship. It cannot be said, however, that Hungary's behavior has been any more commendable. Instead of confining itself to a simple statement expressing regret at the terrorist activities which have occurred on its soil and promising to prevent them in the future, the Budapest government attempted to justify its laxness on the ground that the activities were the result of legitimate irredentist feeling against the provisions of the Trianon treaty. As Professor Jaszi indicates in the final article of his series, which will appear in next week's issue of *The Nation*, rectification of the national frontier has become the all-absorbing passion of the ruling class in Hungary, overshadowing all thought of caution in the face of possible war. Only the military weakness of the country and its lack of influential allies have kept events from taking a far graver turn.

AS WE GO TO PRESS it is reported that both Hungary and Jugoslavia have accepted a compromise resolution proposed by M. Laval. If this means that hostilities have definitely been averted, a large share of credit is due to that much-maligned organization—the League of Nations. The fact that the League Council was in session enabled the representatives of the Powers to bring pressure on both parties in much less time than would have otherwise been possible. Although the provocative statements made before the Council by M. Benes of Czecho-Slovakia and M. Titulescu of Rumania threatened for a time to exacerbate the crisis, these bellicose gestures were rendered harmless by the prompt action of Britain, France, and Italy. The stand taken by Italy was particularly encouraging. Although committed to support Hungary against the Little Entente, it did not allow its deep-seated hatred of Jugoslavia to prevent it from aiding France in working out a compromise formula. But it was Pierre Laval whose role was the most delicate and difficult. Failure to appease Hungary meant defeat of his efforts to obtain the long-sought rapprochement with Italy. Yet a break with Jugoslavia would have struck a blow at the very foundations of France's post-war diplomacy. The resolution adopted ably reconciles the demands of each party. It asks Hungary to investigate the complicity of Hungarian officials in terrorist activities, but does not hold it definitely responsible for the assassination. It also provides for the establishment of a committee to draw up a more adequate plan for combating terrorist activities. This plan is expected to include a definition of terrorism which conforms in general to the Jugoslav demand, and to make provision for an international penal court to judge accused individuals. Basically the Central European problem remains as far from settlement as ever, but for the time being the crisis appears to have been passed.

IN CONTRAST to the alarming reports from Central Europe, the situation in the Saar is notably improved as a result of action taken by the League Council to send British, Italian, Dutch, and Swedish troops to the territory instead of French soldiers, as was originally planned. This step, coming directly after the adoption of a Franco-German agreement covering payment for the mines and treatment of minorities, removes the last of the more serious issues which have arisen in connection with the plebiscite. With relatively peaceful relations existing for the moment between Hitler and the Vatican, there seems little doubt that the inhabitants of the Saar, 70 per cent of whom are Catholic, will vote overwhelmingly for return to Germany. If this is the case, and France keeps its promise to abide by the results of the election, the much-dreaded date of January 13, 1935, may pass more quietly than anyone would have believed possible two months ago.

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THE MURDER of Sergei M. Kirov was undoubtedly a shock to the Russian people and their leaders. It was the first political assassination in fourteen years; it ended the career of a useful and loyal official; it suggested at least the possibility of an organized anti-government plot. But these circumstances provide no excuse for the ruthless and bloody reprisal of the Soviet government. Sixty-six out of seventy-one suspects rounded up by the police were tried and convicted in closed courts without counsel or the privilege of appeal and were immediately shot. This summary act will echo in every country in the world. Instead of asserting the strength and stability of the Soviet government it creates doubts which had been almost banished by the growing liberalism of Bolshevik rule. A strong government does not ordinarily meet assassination by mass terror; it proceeds in the open, giving suspects the benefit of legal protection. But the Soviet government is in fact strong and safe from successful counter-revolutionary attack. Why, then, should it behave as if it were in the throes of revolution or civil war? An answer is to be found in the obvious fact that repression breeds repression; that fear and the violence that grows out of it persist long after the original reason for them has disappeared. The development of legal safeguards in Soviet Russia was a frail growth; at the first breath of opposition terror sprang up, full blown. The Soviet government could not have chosen a worse moment to revive the method of terror. The world had come to look to Germany for exhibitions of frightfulness and to Russia for an example of orderly progress toward responsible statesmanship. The recent mass execution makes it plain that the day of true "revolutionary justice" has not arrived.

UNDER THE AUSPICES of the International Student Service, a vigorous and plainspoken group met at Raleigh, North Carolina, on November 30 to consider the problem of the Negro in the United States. The group, consisting of about twenty young persons, both white and colored, came out flatly for "complete political, economic, and social equality of the races." This revolutionary program, however, was recognized as such by the complementary declaration that no such equality was possible under the present organization of society. Various speakers discussed the organization of the masses, both white and black, and the problem of education in the South; they paid particular attention to existing associations for the improvement of the Negro's status. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and similar organizations were considered and found wanting. Not until they completely changed their character could they hope to make a beginning at solving the Negro problem. Realistically enough, the group felt that the reconstitution of society which they demanded could not be expected in the immediate future. In the meantime they pledged themselves to organize workers' schools, to introduce courses in sociology and economics in Southern, particularly in Negro, colleges, and to organize teachers and students in Southern schools and colleges on an interracial basis. This is a new note among Negro uplifters, as refreshing as it may well be helpful. Not until the American Negro discards permanently the Booker T. Washington attitude of "knowing his place" and keeping his mouth shut will he be in a position to claim some of the rights which his white brother has denied him.

NEW EVIDENCE regarding the identity of the "forgotten man" who was to be the beneficiary of the New Deal is furnished in the statistics presented by the Bureau of Internal Revenue on the income-tax returns for 1933. Viewed from the standpoint of business, the results of the first year of the Roosevelt Administration would appear to be highly satisfactory. Corporation income was up by more than $650,000,000, a gain of 35 per cent over the preceding year. The number of individuals reporting incomes of over $25,000 increased from 25,089 in 1932 to 26,142 in 1933, a rise of 4 per cent, while the total income of this group advanced from $1,350,000,000 to $1,480,000,000, or 10 per cent. Even more striking were the gains made by that small class by which the American people has customarily measured its prosperity, those receiving more than a million dollars a year. The number in this select group increased from twenty to forty-six, and the total income which they reported was $81,558,000, as compared with a paltry $35,240,000 in 1932. All of which would be highly encouraging if it were not for the fact that the total income of those receiving less than $25,000 declined nearly 5 per cent during the year, with the principal losses occurring within the group receiving less than $5,000. No figures are available for the 46,000,000 gainfully employed persons whose earnings were insufficient to cause them to file any income-tax return, but in the absence of a rise in the national income it is evident that they too have been content to enjoy prosperity vicariously.

AFTER TEN MONTHS of travail the Automobile Labor Board has brought forth a company-union plan in disguise. Ostensibly, the election rules promulgated by the board aim to put into effect the underlying ideals of the automobile strike settlement—proportional representation and works' councils. In fact the rules define a procedure by which existing employee-representation schemes may be fastened more closely upon the workers engaged in the industry. Every plant will be divided into districts or departments. Each district is to hold its own series of elections, primary and final. Both at the primary and final elections the workers will vote for individual representatives, who appear on the ballots in strictly individual capacities. The district representatives will constitute the collective-bargaining council, in other words, "freely chosen" employee representatives within the meaning of Section 7-a. In every essential detail the scheme is virtually identical with the company-union plans already in force throughout the industry. It differs only in the provision that workers may indicate on the ballot that they regard their candidates as the spokesmen of particular labor organizations. The plan utterly excludes the workers from indicating whether they desire to be represented by an outside or an inside union. The A. F. of L. unions in Detroit have already announced that they will not participate in the proposed elections.

WHILE THE JENNINGS CASE drags on (the victim has now been out of a job for six months), the publishers' campaign against the guild in the San Francisco Bay region has been continued with renewed energy. Louis Burgess, another Hearst editorial writer of long standing, has been jobless for seven months or more since he was fired, allegedly for guild activity. Recently the regional labor board threw out his plea for reinstatement because of "insufficient

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evidence." The very next day Estolv Ward, chairman of the Oakland *Tribune's* guild chapter, for ten years a rewrite man, was fired in the name of "retrenchment"; in rapid succession Ronald Scofield, guild-chapter secretary, who had been seven years on the copy desk, and Wallace Vaughan, active guild member, the *Tribune's* librarian for nine years, were also let out. The guild laid plans for striking at the Achilles' heel of newspapers—circulation. These plans included radio broadcasts, a sound truck to advertise the *Tribune's* defiance of the New Deal, and a telephone campaign among subscribers. But the guild found that the air too is apparently within the publishers' jurisdiction. Radio stations refused to sell time to the guild. "We don't dare buck the press," said one station official. The word went round also that an injunction would be slapped on the sound truck the moment it appeared on the streets. The guild has not given up. But obviously what it needs most is a little of that freedom of the press which Mr. Hanson and the A. N. P. A. have been howling about so loudly.

THE UNANIMOUS DECISION of the United States Supreme Court that students in federal land-grant colleges may not claim exemption from military-training courses on the ground of religious scruples gives aid and comfort to the enemy at a particularly unfortunate time, when threats of war and of fascism meet us on all sides. The court's position seems consistent and perhaps inevitable, after its decision in the Schwimmer case. It reaffirms as "a fundamental principle of the Constitution" the doctrine enunciated in that case, that "it is the duty of citizens by force of arms to defend our government against all enemies whenever necessity arises." But the decision implies a direct connection between the obligation of a citizen to bear arms in war time and the necessity for a student to take military training when no obligation to bear arms is involved. The decision cannot fail to be heartening to the proponents of militarism, and correspondingly a blow to pacifists. We may look for a stiffening of military-training requirements and an increase of hostility toward all students who object to them; and it will not be surprising if in some colleges where these courses have ceased to be obligatory they are now restored as prerequisites to graduation. The conscientious objectors can merely avoid, whenever possible, the colleges which insist on bayonet drill as part of the curriculum, and continue a firm attitude of protest. If the pacifist movement in general becomes strong enough, the federal land-grant and all other colleges, in response to an insistent public demand, will drop these courses, whether or not they have Supreme Court sanction for them.

ONE OF JAPAN'S PRETEXTS for the seizure of Manchuria was the existence of a considerable amount of banditry which the local Chinese authorities had been unable to suppress. The fact that the bandits had been armed and equipped by Japanese nationals, who had built up a lucrative trade in contravention of Chinese law by virtue of their extraterritorial status, was naturally ignored in official statements. Needless to say, the "bandit evil" was not stamped out after the Japanese conquest. Such large numbers of Chinese volunteers and irregulars joined with the outlaws that for a time Japan found itself utterly unable to cope with the situation. Today, after three years of constant activity, Lieutenant General Nishio, Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, claims to have reduced these forces by half, a claim which is not substantiated by reports from other sources. In the province of Fengtien alone, Japanese statistics show some 1,500 attacks in August, involving more than 50,000 "bandits." No figures are available for the region along the Chinese Eastern Railway, where the situation is admittedly much more serious. The Japanese, of course, insist that they would have wiped out this banditry long ago if the outlaws had not received supplies from China and even from the Soviet Union. Support from Chinese sources has doubtless existed, but recent arrests indicate that a large part of the arms trade is still closely associated with the drug traffic and is carried on, as formerly, by Japanese citizens.

A CASE which is important to those who still think the Constitution guarantees civil liberties to American citizens has been set for January 7 in Hillsboro, Illinois. It is the trial of fourteen men charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government under a State statute enacted during the post-war hysteria. Most of the eleven original defendants were arrested in connection with relief demonstrations, and because of the excessive bail demanded have spent a large part of the summer in the Montgomery County jail. Later three other men were indicted under the same law, including a former University of Illinois student whose offense was to have spoken for the men, who had in effect been convicted without trial. The defendants are willing to go to trial at Hillsboro, their only request being for a judge other than Circuit Judge T. M. Jett of that city, who fixed their bonds. As a result, Judge Jett has called in City Judge Paul McWilliams of nearby Litchfield, who has acted as presiding judge of the Cook County Superior Court on several occasions. By the time a jury is selected, a bill to repeal the statute under which they are to be tried will have been introduced in the Illinois Legislature. Meanwhile these men must be saved from the fate of Angelo Herndon and Tom Mooney.

DR. WILHELM FURTWANGLER has joined the honorable company of German artists of eminence who refuse to accept the Hitlerian definition of culture. When his forthright defense of the composer Paul Hindemith, condemned as a Jew and as generally unworthy of the high moral tone of Nazi art, aroused a storm of protest, Dr. Furtwängler resigned his post as director-in-chief of the Berlin State Opera and deputy president of the Reich Chamber of Music. It is obvious that the only sufferers from this latest Nazi outburst will be Berlin music-lovers who are deprived of the services of a fine musician. Dr. Furtwängler can probably take his pick of orchestras the world over, and American audiences may expect to be the gainers, as they were when Toscanini took part in a similar altercation with Hitler's twin dictator, Mussolini. One may note that the only newspaper to take the side of Hindemith and Furtwängler was the *Frankfurter Zeitung;* and it will obviously be only a question of minutes before Germany's Queen of Hearts will shout "Off with his head!" once more, and one of the last landmarks of a German free press will—if we may mix our metaphors a little—bite the dust. In short, although Herr Furtwängler deserves all honor for his courageous action, it is difficult to take seriously the aberrations of the Nazis in search of undefiled Aryan culture.

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Industry Defies the New Deal

LAST week did much to clarify the confusion over the possibility of cooperation between business and the government. The Congress of American Industry adopted its elaborate platform of recovery. We now know where business stands. It wants the old deal or nothing. Every seeming concession to the New Deal is a façade of words behind which is not the faintest apprehension of the truth that we are facing new conditions calling for new methods, or that the economic oligarchy of the old deal must be transformed into a new democracy if we are to be an economically free people. The philosophy of American industry is that unless a tolerable standard of life, or indeed a miserable minimum of relief, can be produced by the old method, neither shall be sanctioned. The manufacturers will accept codes—if they are voluntary. They will bargain with labor "collectively or individually . . . without coercion of any sort. This precludes the remote control of such local relations by predetermined forms imposed by the national labor boards, whose efforts now invite and incite conflicts between management and labor." If this is not lucid enough, the platform officially states it still more crudely: "The powers of government should not be used to control local relationships between employers and employees." The destitution of twenty million Americans does not for these manufacturers constitute a national emergency calling for extraordinary measures such as borrowing. "The appropriations of the federal government relief program," they solemnly affirm, "should be reduced until they come within its normal and reasonable income." Then follows one of the most heartless collective assertions recorded during the depression: "It is folly to continue relief so extravagant that it undermines the morale of those who receive it." This description of the niggardly help hastily thrown by the government to the victims of the depression gives the measure of the humanity and intellect of our organized and embattled industrialists.

Cooperation between industry and the government is to be had at one price only; the government is to "cooperate" by leaving business strictly alone. The clock must be turned back to the Coolidge era. There the minds of these industrialists stood still. They experienced no mental processes during the Hoover era. Having already failed to provide for the people of America, they now offer no program for recovery beyond proposing to remain seated firmly on the throne from which their failure emanated, offering no wisdom gained in the humiliation of these five years, affirming their right to be there with not a single social justification. It is true that Dr. Virgil Jordan, president of the Industrial Conference Board, recognized the duty of industry, if left alone, to plan, to set up its own brain trust and agencies of cooperation. But his colleagues would have none of it. Their platform announces: "No group of men is wise enough to plan and control operations of all our manifold business activities. History demonstrates that such control impairs or destroys individual initiative and freedom."

Not all business men are like this. In the last of our series on What Business Men Think, in this issue, Edward A. Filene recognizes the need for economic planning under government control. Though he insists on profits, he considers them as a means to the end that the masses shall enjoy a standard of life scarcely yet thought possible. But if the profit motive is to be the one stimulus to production, it also can be the paralyzing limitation to it, which is why the nation is in its present plight. And this second consideration, we feel, has been unfortunately ignored. The profit motive, however useful its champions can make it appear, can also engender a national tragedy.

What the President thinks of the prospect of cooperating with the industrialists can only be gauged by the spate of words with which his Number Two, Donald Richberg, is almost daily drenching the country. If Mr. Richberg has the slightest belief that the New Deal is trying to bring democracy into American economic life, and that there is mighty little democracy in it now, he successfully conceals it. To business men, rightly we hope, the New Deal appears a threat to their oligarchy. That is why they resist. Mr. Richberg has been doing his utmost to persuade them that their fears are unjustified. His unprincipled cajolings make one yearn for even that disastrous departed figure, General Johnson. Richberg showed his caliber in the Newspaper Guild case, which we comment on fully elsewhere. Like much in his recent career, this marks him a second-rater who abandons principles for the sake of success. Unless the President has scotched his own program for democratizing if not socializing economic life in America, he had better find a new mouthpiece and go-between. For what happens to collective bargaining, in the factory, the newspaper, the NRA, the National Labor Relations Board, and the Department of Justice, is for the moment the only measure of the President's sincerity. It is one of four chief instruments for democratizing economic power in this country, the other three being the socialization of credit, social taxation, and the provision of social security. Only the socialization of credit is at all forward. The provision of social security will mean little in the democratic sense until it is financed out of social taxation, which has been put off indefinitely.

Important, perhaps final choices are being made in Washington in the days that remain before Congress meets. The President must decide whether or not he will heed the frantic cry of business that continued spending spells socialism. Mr. Ickes and Mr. Hopkins advise him to get the unemployed off relief rolls into jobs at any price. The industrialists are mighty. Only once have they faced a strong government—at the time when they submitted to the codes. But even then they did not surrender, and they have been artful enough to use the NRA for their own ends and to prevent its being used effectively to strengthen labor. The President can again call upon his prestige in an open conflict with them. If he imagines that the country hankers after the old deal, he has only to consult the election. Compromise may be the democratic method, and the President certainly is gifted in using it to achieve results. But democracy cannot compromise on democracy. The industrialists have proclaimed, like Louis XIV, "The economic state is ourselves." The President has the power to disprove it.

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Death Business Again

THE case against the armament industry as a fomenter of wars and an opponent of international amity has been strengthened by the mass of information presented to the second session of the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee, which opened December 4. Documents were read to the committee indicating that certain American munition makers became convinced of the likelihood of a European conflict as early as 1908, and increased their sales force accordingly. It was also shown that in later years several of the leading armament firms of Europe—Vickers-Armstrong and the Nobel Company of England, and Schneider of France—worked in close cooperation to gain a stranglehold on the European market, and that they ignored, or even encouraged the violation of, treaty agreements on the rearmament of Germany and its former allies. While there is as yet no evidence that the American firms actively participated in this arrangement, it is clear that they possessed information about German rearmament as long ago as 1924 or 1925 and that they maintained a discreet and profound silence on the subject.

Even more incriminating was the testimony that certain American munition makers had repeatedly, and in some instances successfully, opposed attempts to bring about international regulation and control of the arms traffic. The most glaring example of this occurred in 1925 when the arms manufacturers appear to have conveyed to Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, the information that they considered the international arms protocol being drafted at Geneva too rigorous. At any rate we know that Mr. Hoover, at the request of the Secretary of State, called a conference of the arms makers at Washington at which certain suggestions were drafted, sent to Geneva, and subsequently incorporated in the treaty. Eight years later, in 1933, we find F. J. Monaghan, export manager of the Remington Arms Company, writing to a South American representative that "we have reached some mighty high officials and feel confident [with regard to the proposed arms embargo] that nothing will prevent the execution of any business that we get." The testimony showed that this company sold 20,000,000 rounds of ammunition to Bolivia and 100,000 to Paraguay prior to the imposition of the embargo. In addition to the active opposition of the munition makers, the evidence before the committee, according to Senator Nye, showed that in all efforts to bring about international accord for the prevention of war the State Department was always opposed by the War and Navy departments, and also at times by the Commerce Department.

Most sensational of all the charges was that brought by Senator Clark—that fourteen former officers of the United States army or navy are now employed by the Chinese government as instructors in Chinese aviation schools, and that the methods of instruction are substantially the same as those developed by the United States government. It was further charged that the Chinese had retained American instructors and purchased American equipment at the instigation of the Department of Commerce. These are the planes which it was asserted were bought for use against the Japanese but which have been utilized exclusively in action against the population of the Soviet districts.

While the disclosures made by the Nye committee have already been sufficient to make thinking men and women the country over determined to bring a stop to the business of trading in death, it cannot be said that even yet public opinion is sufficiently aroused to force the issue. Much has been achieved. The arms industry has been placed on the defensive as never before in its history, but it is far from crushed. A strenuous effort will doubtless be made to have the investigations discontinued when the present appropriation runs out, in the hope that public indignation will die down. It is, of course, of the utmost importance that this be prevented. To date the inquiry has been essentially preliminary in character, carried on with a minimum of expense, and the findings have been necessarily superficial. To unearth the full connections of the American companies with the international arms ring may require many more months of effort and considerable additional expense. But this should not deter the Senate from carrying the investigation to its full completion. The cost is insignificant compared with the toll exacted by the munition makers during the past generation. As even partial insurance against another holocaust like the World War it is cheap indeed.

The Press Takes Its Stand

AS we go to press, we have reason to believe that the National Labor Relations Board has decided to reaffirm its decision taking jurisdiction in the case of Dean S. Jennings and ordering his reinstatement by the San Francisco *Call-Bulletin*. In that decision the board declared that "no genuine issue of freedom of the press can be fabricated" out of the executive order giving the board authority under Public Resolution 44 to hold hearings and make findings of fact regarding alleged violations of Section 7-a by newspaper publishers. We could wish that the board's straightforward ruling had settled a simple case, but it is only necessary to review the sequence of events which followed the announcement of the decision to realize the months of litigation, provided the case is even brought to court, that may lie between Dean Jennings and his job.

The Labor Board decision was handed down on Monday. Howard Davis, president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, with automatic alarm, saw "a threat to free speech" in a decision which restored to a rewrite man a job he had held for five years and would no doubt have continued to hold if he had not joined the Newspaper Guild; and the newspaper publishers went into action. But even Elisha Hanson, counsel for the *Call-Bulletin,* who had conducted the arrogant and hypocritical defiance of the Labor Board in behalf of Mr. Hearst, must have been surprised at the Biblical swiftness with which the virtuous wrath of the publishers produced results. Late on Tuesday no less an agency than the National Recovery Administration, in the person of Blackwell Smith but with the voice of Donald Richberg, requested the Labor Board to reopen the case. The request was made without so much as a gesture at consulting the second party to the dispute, the American Newspaper Guild; it was not concerned with the merits of the case; its real motivation was revealed by Mr. Richberg on Friday when he asked the board to throw out the case, declaring that the board should not assume jurisdiction over

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the controversy. This in spite of Public Resolution 44, which is a law of the land. In other words, it was a completely partisan and arbitrary request from a presumably impartial agency, the NRA, which is charged with enforcing all provisions of the National Recovery Act, including Section 7-a.

Even if the Labor Board has refused to back down before the combined sophistries of Mr. Richberg and the A. N. P. A., it is only realistic to point out that the next move toward enforcement must originate with the NRA; there is no reason to assume that Mr. Richberg will facilitate the enforcement of a ruling to which he is so violently opposed; and the delays in the Houde case, to take only one example, are not encouraging. It was these considerations which motivated the guild in its withdrawal from a hearing on editorial wages and working hours. "If and when the NRA purges itself," said the guild, "we will return. We charge definitely that the NRA has allowed itself to be terrified by the publishers." The Biblical Elisha caused an iron ax to swim. We should like to know what iron axes the modern Elisha and his cohorts raised up on a Tuesday afternoon to confound Mr. Richberg. That is the larger issue in this case.

It is not surprising that the particular issues have received very little elucidation in a press concerned only with its "freedom." The Labor Board cited much circumstantial evidence to support the charge that Jennings lost his job because of his interest in the guild, of which perhaps the most convincing was the fact that immediately following his resignation all but four of the forty members of the *Call-Bulletin* staff who belonged to the guild dropped out, and the chapter was thereby virtually broken up. The publisher's conduct of the case from the beginning indicates that this was exactly the result desired. The *Call-Bulletin* has obstructed every attempt to obtain a ruling by an impartial body; its contention that only the Newspaper Industrial Board has jurisdiction is a subterfuge. It is a simple fact that the board was not functioning when the present case arose. Moreover, the Newspaper Guild has never accepted it as a suitable agency for passing on collective-bargaining disputes, because of its composition and procedure. It consists of four employee and four employer representatives. In case of a tie, provision is made for the appointment of an impartial chairman. The guild maintains with reason that a tie would be inevitable on any question involving the right to organize. To accept jurisdiction by the N. I. B. would therefore amount to accepting compulsory arbitration, especially since the publishers would certainly contest the right of appeal to the National Labor Relations Board.

It is obvious that what Mr. Hearst and the A. N. P. A. least want is a settlement of the Jennings case on its merits. In injecting the issue of free speech into a simple case of discrimination for union activities, the publishers have demonstrated their bad faith in respect to Section 7-a. They are waging a fight not in behalf of a free press but against unionization. "We are going back to the picket line in Newark," said Heywood Broun as the guild withdrew from the wage and hour hearings, "where the air is cleaner." The baby newspaper union is finding out, along with the veterans of organized labor, who are watching its militant fight with much interest, that the strike remains the only effective weapon against such legal necromancers as Elisha Hanson and Donald Richberg.

Proletarian Novels

IN recent months a good deal has been said about the "proletarian novel." Neither its enemies nor its proponents have always been very careful to define what they mean by the term, but those who desire some real light on the subject are referred to an article by Louis Adamic called What the Proletariat Reads, published in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for December 1. Mr. Adamic, whose conclusions are "based on a year's study among hundreds of workers throughout the United States," has something to say on the theoretical as well as the practical aspects of the subject, and he is refreshingly realistic on both.

The first result of his investigation was to show that none of the recent "proletarian novels" was actually such in the sense of being a novel read by the proletariat. Except for the members of a very small class of worker-intellectuals, the American proletarian rarely reads anything besides the newspaper and an occasional copy of *Liberty, Screen Romances,* and the like. Mr. Adamic found that the typical response to a copy of "To Make My Bread," which he considers one of the ten best American novels of the last three years, or Robert Cantwell's "The Land of Plenty" was the remark that the first was "hard going" and that the second "sure is deep and I guess pretty radical at that."

Inasmuch as Mr. Adamic is himself a radical, his theoretical conclusions are equally interesting. He is Marxian enough to maintain that novels "dealing only with the middle or upper classes cannot help being no more than small, ineffective things"—which is a conclusion justifiable only on the assumption that no subject can possibly be important unless it somehow involves the relationship of classes. But for all that, he has scant patience either with the novel which deals exclusively with the proletariat or with that which represents the lower classes as either worse off or more consistently admirable than they really are. In Flint, Michigan, factory girls who had read Catherine Brody's "Nobody Starves" thought the book untrue, and one of them remarked: "We wear much nicer clothes than she says we do!"

Mr. Adamic protects himself against the possible charge of heresy by affirming certain great but remote truths. In the first place, a genuine proletarian art, which is merely a great human art, will come into existence only when the Communist state has passed through its early trials and the proletariat has ceased to exist as a class. In the second place, his insistence that the actual worker should not be too much idealized in fiction does not involve any denial of "the nobility of the proletariat's consistently creative social function as compared to the capitalists," because that consistently noble social creativeness is not incompatible with meanness, greed, and the rest on the part of the individual proletarian. Few of even the bourgeois critics will, however, object to the specifications given by Mr. Adamic for the actual proletarian novel of the present. "When I say 'revolutionary books' I mean primarily well-written, truthful books. . . . Most of the proletarian writing so far has not been overburdened with truth. Much of it, with its lies and exaggerations, has been downright counter-revolutionary in character." In other words, a good proletarian novel is simply a good novel in which some proletarians appear as characters.

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Issues and Men

The Pioneering Spirit

MR. ROOSEVELT'S recent appeal at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, en route to the marvelous works of the Tennessee Valley Authority, for a new pioneering spirit in this country will not sit very well with Al Smith and will probably give him a fresh grudge against the "old potato." For in one of his reactionary articles in the *New Outlook* Al Smith specifically stated that pioneering is just what we do not need, that we must not go headlong into pastures fresh, or blaze a trail into untouched forests—a strange doctrine for one who in his second annual message to the Legislature during his first term as Governor made no less than nine socialistic or semi-socialistic recommendations for legislative action.

Undoubtedly the President was right. We do need a greater readiness to leave the old ruts; we need to get over our craven American fear of trying anything new in governmental policy or procedure. We know that our past methods of doing business have brought us to disaster; but we are not so sure that we want to try new ones. The lure of business at the old stand in the old way seems to most of us still irresistible. We are so drugged by all the super-patriotic incantations to the effect that the United States is the greatest, the best, the noblest, and the most altruistic of nations, with a Constitution never, never to be touched, that we cannot yet realize that we must now try pioneering again. Not in the physical sense, of course. We are facing not the conquest of new lands but, if Secretary Wallace is right, and we refuse to lower our tariffs, the abandonment of 50,000,000 acres of lands conquered by pioneers in the old pioneering American spirit. We do need men, heaven knows, ready to strike out into what are now desert social wastes, determined to make them blossom again and to fit them for human habitation. We can truly rejoice that Franklin Roosevelt has brought men and women to Washington who are ready for this very adventure, who are praying for it, pleading for it, planning for it. When will Mr. Roosevelt really give the signal?

As for his phrase "the old pioneering spirit," I wonder as I think of it if it would not have been well for him to have defined it. For if it covers a multitude of heroisms, it also includes many of the blackest crimes. The American epic called out some of the finest traits in men and women; yet the early settlers sullied their record from the start by their indescribable cruelties and barbarities toward the rightful owners of the land. They cheated them, robbed them, and then drove them into the fastnesses to live or die. They gave them alcohol; they brought them disease; and when out of justified resentment or reckless drink-fired despair the natives turned upon the whites, the natives were always the sole wrongdoers—brutes and savages who tortured captives to death and mutilated them after death. That was part of the pioneering spirit; that was the way the white man proceeded. Helen Hunt Jackson called her classic book about what we did to the Indians "A Century of Dishonor." It should have read "Centuries of Dishonor," for to a degree the dishonor still persists. This is the debit side of the pioneering spirit of America.

All of this has been brought back to me by reading Frederick F. Van de Water's truth-telling life of General George A. Custer, the so-called "hero of the Little Big Horn." If ever a man deserved the death that was his, it was Custer. Listen to what he did in 1867. He marched his regiment in the dead of winter along the Washita until he came upon an Indian encampment, a Cheyenne village entirely unsuspecting that the white man's government was at war with them. An hour after his charge began at daybreak the regiment had killed 103 men and a number of defenseless women and children. Every lodge was burned; the entire pony herd of 875 horses was rounded up and killed in cold blood; 573 buffalo robes and 470 blankets were captured. The survivors were left to the rigors of the snow-covered plains and hills without food, shelter, or raiment; and this was accomplished with the loss of one life in the attack. (It is true a major and nineteen men strayed off and were killed. Custer never sent to find or aid them and they died when their ammunition gave out; he marched away without even trying to look for them, and their bodies were not buried for days.) No specific charges of wrongdoing had been brought against this Indian camp, which was located where it was entitled by treaty to be. There is not even proof that the expedition was authorized by Washington. This horrible massacre with all its indefensible wickedness remains one of the blackest stains on the whole record of our dishonor. Custer's final expedition which cost him his life was solely motivated by a desire for personal glory, the ambition to round up and destroy the Sioux with whom Washington had broken one treaty after another.

How shall we pioneer in the new fields, build the new America? By this spirit of ruthlessness, by a similar disregard for the rights of all who get in the way of the pioneers? It is neither an academic nor a theoretical question. The California election has shown with what bitterness and underhandedness the holders of special privilege will fight to retain their points of vantage. If this is to be matched by the frontier spirit which never admitted the legality of any rights, property or human, if these rights stood in the way, then we are in for bad times indeed. Already those who hold securities in the public utilities affected by the TVA feel that the pioneering spirit of that great enterprise is bearing harshly, unfairly, and unjustly upon them and robbing them of part or all of their savings. This may not be true, but the feeling is there. If it cannot be exorcised, if the public cannot be persuaded that justice is being done, we shall have renewed frontier conflicts of great bitterness—with justice probably trodden underfoot.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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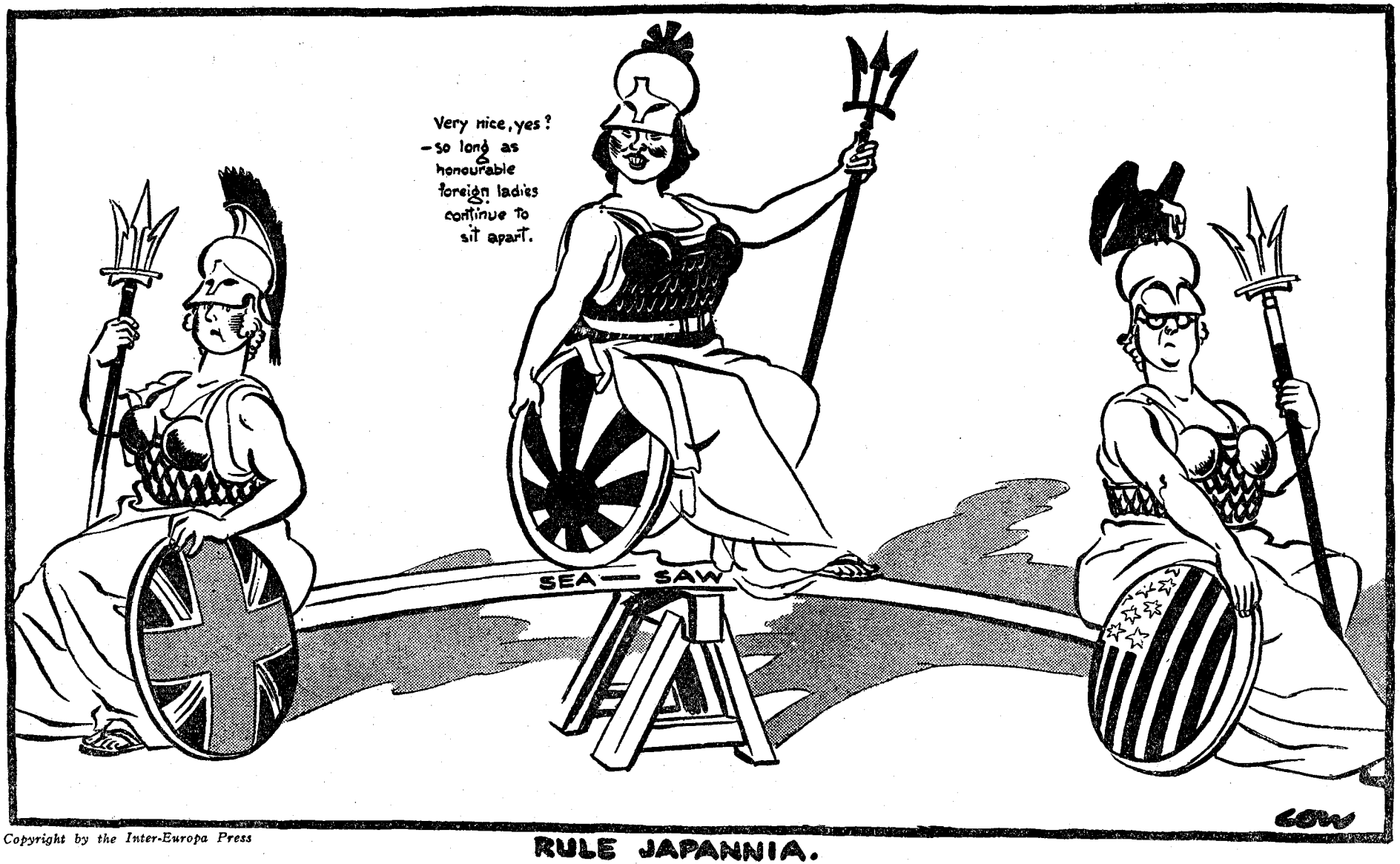

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Playgrounds and Factories

By LOUIS FISCHER

Kharkov, November 1

IN Russia people are usually addressed by their given names and patronymics. Lenin was Vladimir Ilich; Stalin is Joseph Missaryonovich. Paul Petrovich means Paul the son of Peter. His sister would be Maria Petrovna, Marie the daughter of Peter.

Dear Paul Petrovich,

I am a pupil of School Number 36, first grade A, Lena Alexandrovna Kochanova. Yesterday I was playing in the city park. I was playing school with my girl friend. The keeper came up and said that it was not permitted to play school in the park. Dear Paul Petrovich, I beg you to give the children a place in the park where they could play.

L. KOCHANOVA

Lena, to judge from the fact that she is in the first grade, is about eight years old. Paul Petrovich is Comrade Postishev, the Stalin of the Ukraine, the Bolshevik leader of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic, which has a population of some 40,000,000, the richest industrial and agricultural region of the union. A few days after he received Lena's letter, he wrote:

Dear Lenochka,

I fully share your displeasure. The keeper, of course, should not have prohibited you from playing school in the park. You are permitted to play in the park. That is why the park was laid out. But it seems the doctors say it is not so good to play school. I am not quite sure whether they are right or not. Now, a special playing section will be built in the park, and near it two booths—one where the children can buy ice cream and soda water, the other where their toys will be kept. Besides, we will have a special play square for the smaller tots.

Comrade Saratnikov, the chairman of the Kharkov Soviet, has personally undertaken to see that the sections and booths are built.

I only ask all of you not to run on the grass, not to tear flowers, and to look after one another so that no harm is done to the park. You may run on the paths as much as you like.

Greetings,

P. POSTISHEV

No sooner said than done. I visited the new children's playgrounds. Excellent modern equipment, the ablest teachers, flower beds, and so on. During the summer the average daily attendance is between a thousand and fifteen hundred. And still the children make demands. They have written Paul Petrovich—this time the letter had a host of signatures—and told him that they want a library, a pavilion—"otherwise we must stay in our apartment when the weather is bad"—a leader for their aviation-model section, and for the winter an ice skating rink and a skiing hill.

Postishev devotes considerable attention to parks. One sees in the parks and streets of Kharkov many trees to which little signs have been attached. The sign gives the names of the child who is the monitor of that tree. If any harm is done, the child reports it. But of course the chief advantage of this system is that the monitors themselves, of whom there are thousands, acquire a psychology which does not allow them to hurt growing things.

Many old houses in Kharkov used to be separated from the street by a brick wall seven or eight feet high. Behind the wall was a garden and then the house. Postishev ordered that where a garden contained twenty or more trees the wall was to be torn down. The additional green has changed the aspect of whole thoroughfares. Benches have been placed in the gardens so that pedestrians may rest. Kharkov's example is now being followed by other Soviet cities.

Postishev is the hero of the children of the Ukraine. He is also respected by millions of adults. One sees his picture in store windows, offices, and homes. His young face with the short-clipped hair speaks of his energy. This summer he was scarcely ever to be found in Kiev, the new capital of the Ukraine. He spent most of his time in the country, stimulating the peasants to greater activity, correcting mistakes of local administrators, and giving orders that oiled the machinery of collectives and soviets. Postishev formulates larger policy and deals with details as well.

Lenochka wrote to Postishev because she knew his name and no one else's. But she was guided by a healthy instinct. In the Soviet Union it is the big man who gets things done immediately. If Lenochka had applied to a minor commissar he might have pigeon-holed her plea and forgotten it. The busy Postishev, however, found time for her. In like manner Stalin receives thousands of personal requests, and answers every one of them. When a writer's play has been prohibited, when an artist wants to go abroad and has been refused a passport, when an official has been wronged and cannot get justice from his immediate superiors, he resorts to the *hozyayin,* the "boss" in the Kremlin. By encouraging this sort of correspondence, Stalin, like Postishev and other provincial leaders, keeps in touch with the temper of the country and enhances his own popularity. No one is indifferent to popularity—or immune to vanity.

Since Postishev and other big Bolsheviks get things done, since the mails and telegraphs function badly, since, moreover, people like to believe that their personalities will hasten a favorable decision, innumerable Soviet citizens and subordinate officials appear personally before high officials to plead their causes. It is estimated that when Kharkov was the Ukrainian capital 15,000 men and women from the provinces entered the city on "business" every day. Now they go to Kiev. God only knows how many carry their troubles to Moscow.

A capital is the façade of a country. It tries to create a good impression. The fact that the government chiefs live in it helps it to get the wherewithal from the treasury for its upbuilding. While Kharkov was the capital it experienced an uninterrupted construction boom. I remember the city from the time I first saw it in December, 1922. The famine had just ended. In clinics I found women and children swollen from hunger. Mud and dirt dominated the scene. All houses were in disrepair. A rickety trolley ground its way through a few central streets. At night the town was glum

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and dark. Subsequently I visited Kharkov almost every year and watched its frown change to a smile, until today it is a bright, bubbling metropolis with almost all streets asphalted, many fine street-car and bus lines, big new parks, one stadium finished and another with 100,000 seats in construction, a race track, several new universities, stores filled with goods, and thousands of new homes.

Kharkov boasts what is architecturally the finest office building in the Soviet Union. It is a block wide in the form of a gentle curve. Some of its sections are fourteen stories high; others eleven and seven. Cement roads run between the sections, and high above the roads are inclosed bridge-corridors which connect the sections. This scheme gives the tremendous structure an almost fairy lightness. From the roof of the building a large part of Kharkov is visible. Here one realizes how much of the city is newly built. Many complete blocks of houses stand out as fresh and modern. And each is like an island surrounded by a band of green. The population of Kharkov rose from 288,000 in 1917 to 720,000 in 1934, and it is now the fourth largest city in the union. Smokestacks indicate that numerous factories operate within the city. But most of the large industrial plants erected by the Bolsheviks during and since the first Five-Year Plan are located far from the center of town. Thus the Kharkov tractor factory is some twelve kilometers from the city. A smooth speedway leads to it. One Soviet leader has called this speedway the "Avenue of Giants," for along its course have been built half a dozen immense enterprises, among them the Kharkov turbine factory, which manufactures machines formerly purchased abroad.

I have followed the progress of the Kharkov tractor plant ever since its birth in 1931. On previous visits I noticed and discussed with the director the excessive number of workers employed. Men seemed to be standing around doing nothing except to get in one another's way. Little of that remains now. As one looks over the tremendous assembly rooms, each person is obviously tending to business and working with fair intensity. The plant employed 11,000 in 1932 when it was manufacturing 50 tractors a day, and employs 11,500 at present when it makes 145 a day.

The Kharkov plant has a little recently constructed town all its own not far from the shops. Here 8,800 of its employees are housed in new apartment houses. But this is only about half the force, for the factory employs 15,500 people. This figure reveals an interesting situation which applies to all Soviet industry. There are 11,500 men actually engaged in production. The entire staff, however, consists of 15,500. Those extra 4,000 are clerks, bookkeepers, teachers, officials in the plant's cooperative stores, waiters in the restaurants, party and trade-union functionaries, librarians, peasants engaged in growing food on the factory's farms, and so on—a large overhead which raises production costs.

The number of teachers is not a negligible item. There must be hundreds of them; for employees of the plant have 11,000 children—15,500 adults, many unmarried, whose average age is probably twenty-five, and 11,000 children. Of these, 1,500 are four years old or younger; 2,000 are between four and seven years of age. Some birth control, one muses, would not be amiss.

In a recent interview in Moscow with Gregory Kaminsky, the Soviet Health Commissar, which I attended, Mrs. Margaret Sanger, the well-known birth-control advocate, asked not a few questions on her favorite subject. I think she learned that the Bolsheviks have a special approach to the problem. They do not, of course, object to birth control on moral or religious grounds. But they submit that the earth is rich and the possibilities of technological progress are infinite. Though the world's population is greater now than two or three centuries ago, living standards are also higher. There is no reason, the Bolsheviks accordingly argue, why in a perfect society all the human beings born into it should not be excellently provided for. Every new individual should be able to produce as much as he can consume. This is their attitude in principle. On the other hand, the Communists are realists, and they know that conditions in the U. S. S. R. are not perfect. Temporarily, therefore, contraceptive information and paraphernalia are made available to all who may desire them. In addition, there is also birth control after conception. But it is much more difficult to get an abortion in the Soviet Union than many foreigners have been led to imagine. In any case, no abortions are brought about after eight weeks of pregnancy. The interesting thing is, however, that Russians marry early and want to have children. And although the two-child family is becoming the type here, too, there certainly are enough young ones.

The Kharkov tractor factory has three nurseries, or crèches, for youngsters up to the age of three. These are housed in two-story stone buildings which one easily recognizes from the street by the long U-shaped extension running from ground to roof. Inside you discover that these extensions provide space for an inclined plane of slight gradient which takes the place of stairs. Thus as soon as a child can walk, it also can find its way upstairs. I saw youngsters of eighteen months or perhaps even less resting at various stages of their adventurous solo climb toward the sleeping porch on the roof. An American pedologist who inspected the Kharkov crèche with me said that one would have to look hard in the United States to find one better equipped. There are few better in the Soviet Union, but not a few like it. Every Soviet factory has a nursery; so has every office of any size, in fact practically every urban institution, and now almost every collective farm. To supply these crèches with equipment and, what is more, with personnel, has become a major Soviet industry.

Several hundred children attend the three Kharkov tractor crèches. In the one I visited—and presumably in the others, too—the children were divided into groups of fifteen or sixteen. Each group had its own rooms which no other children ever enter, its own toys, beds, and nurses. This arrangement was devised to reduce the likelihood of contagion, which is a serious problem in all Soviet nurseries and kindergartens. The children are deposited in the crèche in the morning and taken home by their working mothers after working hours. Since most of the mothers are employed nearby in the tractor plant, those who still nurse their babies come to the crèche three times a day for half-hour periods. Before feeding the baby, the mother must wash, don an apron, and partake of a meal from the nursery kitchen.

I was very much impressed by this institution and said so to the acting director of the plant. "Yes," he said, "but it is not enough. After all, our children are our future and they should have the best of everything. But we are still poor." I wondered how it would be when this poor, backward country became rich.

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Taxation in the New Social State

VII. Coordination of American Finance

By CLARENCE HEER

RESPONSIBILITY for the raising and spending of taxes in the United States is divided among no fewer than 180,000 independent and semi-independent political units. Yet however badly we may need to coordinate federal, State, and local finance in certain particular respects, the present predilection for coordination as an abstract principle represents a distinct danger. There is of course no more virtue in coordination per se than there is in decentralization per se. Coordinating devices are merely means for obtaining certain ends. Their value can be judged only in terms of the objectives they are designed to achieve. One recent proposal for obtaining a greater degree of coordination between federal and State finance, for instance, would have the effect of firmly fastening the sales tax on us as a permanent part of our revenue system.

It is beginning to dawn on us that governments, through their taxing and spending programs, exercise, willy-nilly, a profound influence upon the course of private business. We are beginning to see that fiscal policies may be deliberately framed with a view to promoting economic stability. But a tax policy for recovery, or for any other purpose, cannot be made effective in the United States as long as tax-raising and tax-spending functions are distributed among 180,000 political units which are grandly left to shift for themselves. Only the federal government has made any attempt in the last two fiscal years to adapt its fiscal program to the requirements of recovery. During that time it has expended some three billion dollars on emergency public works and unemployment relief. Very properly it has financed these expenditures by means of credit rather than increased taxation.

Unfortunately, the recovery efforts of the federal government have been largely nullified by efforts in an opposite direction on the part of States and localities. During the seven years ending in 1930 the net long-term borrowings of State and local governments, after allowance is made for refunding and retirements, averaged very close to a billion dollars per annum. These borrowings were spent for the most part on permanent capital improvements, became income to someone, and helped swell the stream of current purchasing power. In 1932, according to the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* the net long-term borrowings of States and municipalities for purposes other than refunding dropped to about two hundred million dollars. In 1933 net borrowings disappeared altogether, the volume of bonds retired exceeding the volume of new issues. This is, of course, only part of the story of deflation as practiced by State and local governments during the current depression. State and local budgets have been everywhere cruelly slashed. Educational expenditures were reduced by half a billion dollars between 1930 and 1934. School expenditures per child enrolled declined from a national average of $90 in 1930 to $67 in 1934.

Had State and local governments adapted their fiscal policies to the requirements of recovery, they would have refrained as far as possible from levying new taxes or increasing the rates of old ones. To the extent that new taxes were unavoidable, they would have selected such taxes as were likely to trench on savings rather than on necessary consumption. Actually, as we all know, the outstanding fiscal invention of the depression period was the sales tax. It is a fact worth pondering that more money was raised through State sales taxes during the fiscal year just closed than was raised through State income taxes.

The States and their subdivisions carry the responsibility of financing a major share of the normal costs of government. But only the federal government possesses the credit resources and is capable of adequately exploiting the types of taxes needed to execute a fiscal program for recovery. It is clear, then, that there must be a considerable degree of financial cooperation between federal, State, and local governments if a fiscal program for recovery is to succeed.

Economic stability will of course be only one of the objectives toward which the fiscal policy of the new social state will be directed. Since the importance of other objectives is more generally recognized, they may be passed over rather hurriedly. It goes without saying that the new social state will seek to distribute the burden of taxation in an equitable manner. It will endeavor to distribute the services and benefits of government in accordance with social needs. In the case of functions, such as education and health, which are of vital interest to the nation as a whole, it will assure to all of its citizens, in whatever part of the country they may reside, a national minimum of services. It will budget the total tax funds of the country among various functions with due regard to the relative social importance of each function. Finally, it will seek to secure as much economy and efficiency in tax administration as is compatible with its other aims.

It is easy to understand why we cannot hope to come within reaching distance of any of the objectives mentioned under our present scheme of intergovernmental fiscal relations. Under this scheme the functions of government are parceled out among a multitude of more or less independent jurisdictions. The range of taxes which the various jurisdictions are in a position to administer effectively is largely conditioned by their territorial extent. Altogether apart from legal restrictions, the only form of taxation from which local governments are likely to secure much revenue is the general property tax, or more correctly the tax on real estate. The situs of real estate is fixed. In an extremely mobile world most other subjects of taxation are too active and elusive to be caught in the small tax nets which municipalities, counties, and districts are able to spread.

State governments, because of their wider areas, have a broader range of taxes at their disposal, but even they are subject to handicaps which the federal government escapes. Lack of uniformity in the taxing systems of the various States stimulates tax avoidance and evasion. The avenue of escape opened up by the interstate commerce clause makes certain forms of State taxation inequitable. Interstate tax competi-

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tion makes it difficult for any State to depart too widely from the pattern of taxation set by its neighbors. No single State, for instance, could proceed very far with a program of steeply progressive income and inheritance taxes. There are too many other States in which less democratic ideas on taxation prevail.

Modern economic life is closely integrated. Wealth and income are to an increasing extent the result of processes to which all sections of the country contribute. But the legal bases of taxing jurisdiction are not founded on any ultimate inquiry into economic origins. They depend on such criteria as the location of physical property, the domicile of owners and income recipients, and the presumed situs of business operations. Since these criteria tend to be concentrated in a few urban areas, there are wide variations in the capacity of both localities and States to support public services. Notwithstanding these differences in ability, certain functions which are affected, to a degree at least, with a national interest are now supported almost entirely on a State and local basis. This makes for gross regional inequalities in respect of services which ought to be subject to nation-wide standards. Another serious shortcoming of our present fiscal order is that it militates against a rational budgeting of the total tax funds of the country. The relative amount of support accorded any particular function is now determined to no small extent, not by the relative importance of the function itself, but by the relative efficiency as a tax-raising unit of the level of government to which the function has been assigned.

Little need be said about the administrative wastes and duplications which are inevitable under a regime of fiscal separatism. The dual administration of the same types of taxes by both the federal government and the States is naturally a source of annoyance and expense to the taxpayer. When States attempt to administer types of taxes which they are not capable of administering as effectively as is the federal government, taxable assets are wastefully dissipated. When federal, State, and local governments vie with one another in the competitive exploitation of the same tax sources, the result may be a net loss to the country at large. The current situation in the matter of liquor taxation supplies an excellent case in point.

It is clear that some form of coordination of federal, State, and local finance is needed, but what kind of coordination shall it be? One proposal is that the device of federal credit for State taxes, which has been used for a number of years in the field of inheritance taxation, be extended to other taxes, specifically income taxes on individuals and corporations. The one virtue of the federal crediting device is that it effectually eliminates intergovernmental tax competition. Its extension to the field of income taxation would force all States to levy income taxes at rates high enough to absorb the federal credit. The crediting device, however, would contribute very little toward the attainment of the major objectives set up for the new social state. Its chief beneficiaries would be the wealthy industrial and commercial States. It would not solve the problem of regional inequalities in taxable capacity, nor would it do away with duplicate tax administration.

Other proposals contemplate the exclusive collection of certain taxes by the federal government and a sharing of their proceeds with the States. From the standpoint of efficiency it is certainly desirable to give the federal government a monopoly of all taxes in respect of which it enjoys a marked administrative advantage. The difficulty comes in agreeing upon a formula for distributing the proceeds of such taxes among the States. State-shared federal taxes raise other questions, too, which cannot be pushed aside. As long as the States and localities remain solely responsible for supplying certain vital governmental services, can they afford to jeopardize those services by accepting a fixed percentage share of specified federal taxes in return for a partial surrender of their present taxing powers? Is it wise to divorce the raising of taxes from control over their expenditure? Ought the proceeds of national taxes to be expended for any functions or services which are not invested with some degree of national interest?

If one answers any or all of these questions in the negative, another plan of coordination which retains the advantages of centralized tax administration is still open. According to this plan the federal government would be given exclusive jurisdiction over income, inheritance, liquor, tobacco, and all other taxes which it is in a position to administer more effectively than the States. In return for this addition to its taxing power, and to compensate the States for their loss, the federal government would assume financial responsibility for the maintenance of minimum national standards in respect of such State and local functions as education, health, and welfare, which are of more than purely local concern. Administration of the functions in question would remain with the States and localities, but the federal government would see to it that its standards were enforced. This is, of course, merely an application of the familiar subsidy principle and is no novelty in federal and State finance. It would appear to come closer to achieving the objectives set up for the new social state than any other plan currently suggested.

But genuine fiscal coordination will not be achieved through piecemeal expedients directed at one or more specific abuses which happen to afflict us at the present moment. In a highly dynamic age intergovernmental arrangements such as tax credits, nationally administered State-shared taxes, or federal subsidies will have to be constantly readjusted to meet changing conditions. We cannot expect to navigate the tortuous financial channels of the future by setting our ship on a predetermined course with the tiller firmly lashed. What we need above everything else is intelligent pilots, and at present such pilots are lacking.

This lack may easily be remedied through the creation of a federal-State commission on fiscal coordination. A central coordinating agency of this kind would not in any sense constitute a super-government. Its duties would be purely planning and advisory. It would perform much the same function for the country at large as federal, State, and municipal budget-making bodies now perform for their respective governments. The commission would, first of all, schedule the financial requirements for all essential governmental activities and services, whether federal, State, or local, with regard to their relative importance for the country as a whole. It would then formulate a master plan of federal, State, and local taxation which would raise the needed revenue in an equitable and rational manner. On the basis of its financial plan the commission would submit recommendations for specific legislation to the Congress and to the legislatures of the several States. For the purpose of coordinating the credit operations of the various levels of government,

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it would, when necessary, act as a go-between in arranging for advances of federal credit to the States and localities.

A coordinating body of the type proposed might be set up on the initiative of the President and Congress. To emphasize its intergovernmental character, however, it might be expedient to establish it through reciprocal federal-State legislation, or even on the basis of an interstate compact to which the federal government became a party by virtue of the terms of the initial consenting act. Whatever the procedure used, the establishment of a central commission on intergovernmental fiscal relations represents a necessary first step toward coordinating federal, State, and local finances.

[*This is the seventh of a series of ten articles on taxation planned and edited by Professor Paul Studenski. The eighth, European Public Finance in the World Crisis, by Gerhard Colm, will appear in an early issue.*]

What Business Men Think

IV. See the New Deal Through!

By EDWARD A. FILENE

ONCE upon a time the United States adopted a Constitution, generally credited, and I believe rightly, with being the greatest document of its kind in world history. It was not, however, perfect; many of the provisions in it were changed from time to time, and many others were construed in the light of later developments in a vastly different way from what was at first intended. The important historical fact, however, is that America adopted the Constitution, achieved more perfect union, measurably established justice, provided for the common defense, and accomplished certain other things which it had become necessary to accomplish. I think the young country did a great job when it adopted that Constitution. I would even go so far as to say that the greatest thing about the Constitution was its adoption; for until we decided to have a federal government, we couldn't possibly have a good federal government. There were issues. There were sharp differences of opinion. There were those who placed all emphasis on government from the top, and those who felt that everything depended upon State and local rights. Both groups, however, had sufficient statesmanship to perceive that the adoption of one basic, nation-wide code was necessary.

America was then an agrarian civilization with a superabundance of land. In the course of time America became an industrial country, with the unique possession of industrial resources sufficient to provide everybody with a standard of living higher than many of the rich could have had in previous civilizations. But everybody did not enjoy any such standard of living. Even in good times wealth was badly distributed. Then the depression arrived, and millions of Americans had nothing whatever, except hand-outs from charity. The masses couldn't buy the products of our machines, and there was now no land upon which they could settle and produce a living for themselves. Even many of those who were settled on the land could not make a living out of it because enough people could not buy what they were raising; and in the century of transformation from an agrarian to an industrial civilization, Americans had forgotten how to make a living in the old agrarian way.

From a humanitarian standpoint, it is obvious that such a situation was intolerable. Also from a social standpoint; for no social stability, assuredly, can be maintained if great masses of the population are deprived of the means of life. There is, however, another standpoint. This was a business civilization and business was in a bad way too. Until our machines had become so marvelously productive, the average business man could think and plan largely in terms of the community in which his business was located; and even in business depressions he could sell to those who had money and extend credit to those who were hardest hit, and could often manage so that both he and the community were able somehow to weather the hard times. With the coming of mass production, however, these community limits all but disappeared. Business after business was now conducted on a nation-wide scale. Our industries had become so productive, in fact, that they could not be kept in operation unless the masses could buy their products; and the masses, obviously, unless they were employed, could not.

From the business standpoint, therefore, it was imperative that something be done to provide the masses with buying power. Some employers had come to see the economic necessity for high wages, and for higher and higher wages as better and better methods resulted in more capacity to produce. But this had not solved the problem. For the average employer was not a social scientist, and could not be expected to be. Many of those, moreover, who could see the advantage of a high wage level could not pay high wages for fear of losing a trick to some competitor who could not see it.

Nevertheless, from all standpoints the situation was intolerable. There had always been more or less trade in the old agrarian days, but when trade was interrupted, life could still go on. Now, when the mechanism of exchange broke down, everything broke down. Our whole nation had evolved into one economic community, but we had never before recognized the necessity for nation-wide planning of all our economic functions. We prided ourselves on our individualism—we who were building up this greatest of all collective enterprises in the history of the world. Our first thought was that any such nation-wide planning of business was unconstitutional, rather forgetting that the Constitution itself was evolved from the necessity of a nation-wide code.

When it was suggested that business must discover a method of providing the masses with sufficient buying power to purchase the products of this new mechanism of production, the very creators of that mechanism were shocked. But if we had studied business a little more closely than we did, we might have observed that business for many decades had been furnishing our masses with all the buying power which they had. But business had not done this planfully. It had paid wages because it couldn't get labor any other

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way; and with those wages the industrial workers had bought enough at times to keep ever so many businesses going. When more was produced, however, than business could sell, business laid off its employees and stopped furnishing this buying power, with the result that business could now sell even less than before and thousands were reduced to want.

When the so-called New Deal flashed into our nation's thinking, it seemed to be mistaken generally for a new theory of society. Many upheld it as a better social theory than any proposed before, while many viewed it with alarm, calling it a violation of our ancient liberties and a regimentation of life under a political bureaucracy. Still others waited to see what the New Dealers would propose; and the New Dealers proposed a number of measures which these critics did not believe to be economically sound.

It seems to me that the New Deal can never be comprehended from any such approach. The New Deal is not a new solution for old problems. It is a solution for a new problem—a problem arising from the evolution of machine industry and the evolution of American society from an agrarian to an industrial civilization. Nor is the New Deal to be confused with any one of the experimental measures adopted by the Administration in its efforts to get the New Deal going. The New Deal, as I see it, is a movement toward a nation-wide economic constitution, because the time had come when it was no longer possible for industry, agriculture, and trade to function in harmony with our American ideas unless we did evolve an economic constitution. If we want to go on with democracy, and I am sure we do, the New Deal points the way. It is, as I see it, the same way in principle as that by which our infant democracy was protected and nourished—by the nation-wide organization of democracy under an adequate code. I have, therefore, more than business reasons for supporting the New Deal. I have patriotic reasons, humanitarian reasons, even political reasons, for aside from the question of business profits, I loathe absolutism and dictatorship. As a business man, however, I prefer to keep the discussion within the realm of business. To business, the New Deal is imperative. It isn't a question of whether business shall or shall not be operated under a code. Business under any condition must have a code. It is merely a question of whether our big-community business can operate under the old, little-community code, and it has been amply proved that it cannot.

I may seem to speak as if I thought that the needs of business men were paramount; as if the purpose of human life were to keep business prosperous rather than the purpose of business to supply the needs of human life. But that is not the case. I emphasize the business approach to the problem only because I am a business man; nevertheless, if American business does evolve a nation-wide code adequate to the needs of business, there will and can be no opposition from any other element in our society. For whatever the details of such a code may be, its basic principle must be nation-wide planning to enable the masses to purchase the output of modern industry. Idealists may be content with a mere equitable distribution of wealth, but business, if it is to be prosperous, cannot stop at that. It must see that the masses have more and more buying power. There might be an equitable distribution of wealth which would still leave everybody poor, but business can achieve no lasting prosperity now unless the masses enjoy a standard of living which has scarcely yet been thought possible. Only such a standard of living can absorb the products of machine industry, and only such a standard, therefore, can keep the masses employed.

The masses, I know, do not and will not object to that, however much they may have objected to business programs heretofore. In the period when this new industrial machine was in the making, labor and the consuming public were rightfully suspicious of business domination; and business, to win its points, had to smash through these objections with all the strong-arm methods which seemed to suggest themselves. But that period will be over at the moment that American business comprehends the business opportunities inherent in this New Deal. We shall no doubt differ as to methods and measures, but all of us—business men, workers, farmers, professional people—will be consciously working on the same problem, that of getting buying power to the whole people.

Now, as to some of the details of our proposed economic constitution, which so many seem to confuse with the Constitution itself. I am second to none in acknowledging the extraordinary leadership of President Roosevelt, but it has never kept me from questioning a number of those measures. From the very start I could not concur in the suggestion that we must raise prices, and it was hard to understand why almost everybody, including the Administration, seemed to accept price-raising as an immediate objective. I could concede that it might be necessary, as a temporary measure, to raise prices if possible on certain raw materials and farm products. But the great problem, as I saw it, was the problem of enabling the masses to buy more and more, and I argued, and still argue, that people can buy more, other things being equal, if prices are low than they can if they are high.

Mr. Roosevelt himself admitted that he did not know what to do in this new era and promised to find out by fact-finding research and, where necessary, by experiment. The great thing about fact-finding as a method of procedure is that one may start out all wrong and still wind up all right; whereas, if we follow traditional practices instead of facts, we may start all right, but because of changing conditions we may nevertheless wind up all wrong. I could follow Roosevelt, then, with no misgivings. Price-fixing would go out, I was sure, when it became obvious that it could not solve the problem, and if I am not mistaken, it is already going out.

Nor did he try, as many would have liked, to scrap our existing business system and mold one nearer to our utopian ideals. He simply dug up the reasons that our mechanism of trade was not working successfully and proposed action in accordance with these reasons. Some economists, I know, claim that there can be no such nation-wide planning as is now necessary without the destruction of capitalism. But that is unimportant. Capitalism is just a name we give to describe a certain period in economic evolution. If it doesn't fit this new and necessary stage, I think we can find a word to describe the new set-up.

I am for the New Deal, then, because I am a business man. I am for the New Deal because I am an individualist, not a Socialist, and because the Old Deal unnecessarily restricted our individual liberties. I am for the New Deal because I believe in profits, and the New Deal opens up tremendously greater opportunities for legitimate and continuous profits, and opens them up to an incomparably greater number of people.

When the masses were engaged in digging their living

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directly from the soil, in their little agrarian communities, traders could make huge profits from exploiting them. But only a few, at most, could be exploiters. Business can no longer look to exploitation for its profits because we are all engaged in trading now, and there is no public which business can profitably exploit. The only course which can now be profitable is the doing of things which need to be done and the doing of them by such progressive methods—which in general will be mass production—that the masses can receive the benefits. Since there is no limit to things that need to be done, one may almost say that business opportunities will, under the New Deal, be unlimited.

Business in the old days had a certain fascination, but it lacked some of the elements of good, clean fun. It wasn't fun to hire little children until they were broken by disease or accident, and then bring on a new regiment of children to take their place. Employers, I am sure, didn't like to do that, but business, they were told, was business, and they had to do it because children were less expensive than adults. It wasn't fun to have to engage in misrepresentation. It wasn't fun to browbeat labor, or to corrupt government to secure those special favors which seemed so necessary. The great majority, I know, wanted to be decent, and only acted in ways like this because they did not feel free to act according to more humanitarian principles. In other words, business was regimented, and the meanest chiseler in the trade frequently did the regimenting. When he cut wages, they all cut. When he evolved some particularly sharp practice, others thought it necessary to follow suit.

I am for the New Deal because it liberates business from all that. Because it frees business from the dictatorship of the chiseler, and eliminates only those practices which are not socially helpful. Nation-wide planning, of course, necessitates restrictions, but so does all social order. To achieve service, we must place a taboo on disservice. To achieve wealth, we must place a taboo on waste. We shall not have to apologize for unsocial actions in the future by saying that "business is business," for business won't be that kind of business any longer. Business under the New Deal will be much more fun.

[*This is the last of a series of articles by business men discussing various aspects of the New Deal.*]

In the Driftway

EVERY so often the front page of the metropolitan press is agitated by the story of another youthful genius. The latest one, an unnamed hero of seven whose intelligence quotient reaches the dizzy heights of 230 —making Einstein look like a nincompoop with a mere 200 or so—is now pursuing his way through school in Brooklyn. When the Drifter reads, however, that the lad is kept in association with children of his own age—in spite of the fact that he taught himself to read at two and has demonstrated an astonishing skill at mathematical calculation—he reflects that the life of the child prodigy is changing, and one cannot doubt for the better. The Brooklyn unknown is being treated at every possible point like any other child. If he insists on being a genius, it will be evidently without any help from his elders—and on his own account it is encouraging to note that when he began school he exhibited a tendency to burst into tears if he was worsted in a game with other children.

* * * * *

CONTRAST this modern prodigy with one of the most famous and most pathetic of all child wonders—John Stuart Mill. Mill described his own education and did not seem to deplore it, which is very likely the most deplorable thing about it. He recounted, in his "Autobiography," how he learned Greek at three, how at the same tender age his task for the evenings was arithmetic and for the mornings, in walks before breakfast with his father, he was obliged to relate the substance of the books he had read the day before. When he was as old as four he was reading Hume and Gibbon; by seven he had read the first six Dialogues of Plato, in Greek of course; in his eighth year he commenced Latin, not only learning it himself but teaching it to a younger sister; and by the time he was twelve he had finished a good part of Vergil, much of Livy, Sallust, Ovid, Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," Thucydides, a bit of Sophocles, Euripedes, and Aristophanes, and he had even embraced Aristotle's "Rhetoric," in addition, of course, to innumerable works of history—so that when he was ten or eleven he began writing a "History of the Roman Government"—not to mention elementary geometry and algebra, and had made more or less unsuccessful stabs at calculus and other portions of higher mathematics. It is not recorded that the little boy burst into tears when he was beaten in a game, for the simple reason that he had no time for games. He was permitted no vacations, he learned no sports, he had no boy companions. His father, the mentor and disciplinarian of this stern regimen, would brook no nonsense about relaxation, although for his son's lighter moments he did borrow—not owning them himself—the "Arabian Nights," "Don Quixote," and the "Popular Tales" of Maria Edgeworth.

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AS a result of this welter of learning at an early age, Mill grew up to write a number of books which nobody now reads, although one or two of them are worth reading, and to complete an eminently serious, although perhaps not too unhappy, life. He was not, in short, a genius, or even one of the great English writers. Indeed, the Drifter cannot remember any of the great writers who was a child wonder, with the possible exception of Pope. This genius is a mysterious thing, compounded of natural talents, extraordinary curiosity, and great variety of experience. Nowadays educators with a prodigy on their hands are endeavoring to provide a well-rounded training instead of stuffing a young brain with more than it can digest. The Drifter has often suspected, indeed, that we have gone too far in this direction, and that we provide too many games and too little intellectual discipline, not only for our geniuses but for our ordinary children. But for little John Mill one's heart is wrung. There must have been about two million parents who, reading of the high IQ's which have lately provided news for them, looked at their offspring and remarked more or less pugnaciously: "He may not be a genius but he'll probably have a better time if he isn't." To which statistics merely add that he has about as much chance as the child wonder of being a genius after all.

THE DRIFTER

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A Letter from Mark Granite

What This Country Needs Is a Good Twenty-five-dollar House

To the Editors of The Nation:

What this country needs is a good twenty-five-dollar house —and a United Liberal Party to see that the country gets it. *Five million families need new, modern, well-built, separate* homes on good-sized lots of land that can be purchased for twenty-five dollars a month, covering interest, taxes, insurance, upkeep, and payment on principal—the house (of five or six rooms and bath) to cost not more than $2,000, the land not more than $500.

Ten million fathers and mothers need to be turned into home-owners instead of rent-payers, need to have a home of their own to show at the end of fifteen of the productive years of their lives, instead of a bunch of rent receipts and the threat of a homeless old age. Twenty million people need to be taken out of city slums and out of country shacks (and also out of high-rent apartments and houses, built for profit, that they cannot afford to live in—a lot of us are in that fix!) and given a chance to have the security and independence and happiness that only a home of one's own can give.

Who is going to give us this? The Republican Party? The editors of *The Nation* are mistaken: the Republican Party is not dead. It is worse than dead: it is deaf, blind, and useless, a hindrance and not a help to the people who need help most. The Democratic Party? Its housing program is the most perfect illustration of what I said in my last letter on the subject of a new party. We are seeing, right now, how a hybrid *liberal-conservative party works in actual practice.*

The well-meaning, ineffectual Mr. Ickes makes a few feeble gestures toward building non-profit individual homes. The conservative, profit-worshiping Mr. Moffett sets up a howl. Real-estate and building interests, obstructionist labor leaders, the building-material profiteers, and the real-estate bankers bring pressure to bear on the President not to disturb high prices, high profits, high rents, high interest rates, inflated mortgages, and the rent-slavery of the people, by permitting or encouraging the building of good low-priced, non-profit homes. And Mr. Roosevelt has to yield to that pressure because the party back of him is partially made up of conservatives and special interests. If he alienates them he would lose his political power. The result is the abortive thing the Democrats call a housing program. When the Democratic Party is driven straight up against the question of turning liberal and really helping to bring about a different and better distribution of things, it shies and runs away, for it is at heart a conservative donkey.

Ever since it came into power it has been flirting with housing. It tackled the problem timidly, hesitantly, and wrong end first. Slum clearance sounds nice, but it hasn't arrived anywhere and it won't get us anywhere, either as a means of attacking this depression or as a solution of the housing problem. It is unsound in principle. Beehive living, no matter how good the beehive, is all wrong for the poor and, I suspect, even for the rich—except for those sterile members of society who have no children. Tenement living is likely to turn even the children of the rich into human lap-dogs, and it immeasurably increases the difficulties of the poor in bringing up their children. Every child has a right to his own back yard, to a garden of his own tending, to trees and flowers and green grass, to rabbits and chickens and a dog, *to a home!*

Sentimental? Yes, but society is founded upon sentiment. Impractical? No! It is the hardest kind of common sense to get as many people as possible out of the congestion of the cities, out of the demoralizing dependence and insecurity of the tenement house. Remove one family out of ten, even one family out of twenty, from hired rooms in the city to their own homes on their own land, and you produce an immense improvement in political, economic, and social conditions. I am not proposing five million subsistence homesteads or farm homes for city people; I propose giving to five million families now improperly housed separate, modern, inexpensive, new homes wherever they prefer to work and live. Most of them would be, of course, in suburban communities. Let the city become more and more the workshop and trading-place of the people, less and less the crowding-place of the poor.

I have spoken thus far of the general advantages to the family and the community in the ownership of separate homes. The millions of unemployed in the building trades are a weighty additional argument for carrying on a great housing program. Home building on a grand scale is the only sure-fire way to start the wheels of the permanent-goods industry turning. For every dollar spent on the spot for local labor and materials, another dollar is spent elsewhere for other materials and more labor, and for every dollar spent on the house itself, another dollar is spent in furnishing and equipping it. Thus each new home is like radium, sending out perpetual waves of energy, in this case the very stuff that prosperity is made of.

Not enough has been made of another and tremendously important factor involved in a genuine, thoroughgoing, liberal housing program. This depression is mental and spiritual as well as financial. Not one of the measures adopted by the Democratic Party for relieving our present situation has been so conceived, so presented, or so executed as to appeal to the imagination and enthusiasm of men; not one sets before them a real vision and a tangible hope of a better day.

A road, a bridge, a dam, a pile of concrete in a desert pays no taxes, buys no furniture, solves no imperative human problems, houses no happy children, kindles no hearth fires, does not warm the hearts of men. The building of real homes is the best self-liquidating project, yields abundant dividends in human betterment, is the key to a true prosperity. Instead of spending millions for monkey houses in our zoos, and billions more to keep people in their city cages, I propose that we turn these people into home-builders and home-owners.

Let the United Liberal Party come forward with a program for five million homes, and the people will respond! *Give the people homes!* This is the path to prosperity and the path to power for the new liberal party. And so, fellow-liberals, I propose this plank for our platform—it should be, I think, the spearhead of our attack:

"The United Liberal Party will provide new, modern, separate houses on good-sized lots of land for all who desire them, on a purchase plan of five dollars per room per month, so that any family may acquire a new home, pay for it like rent, and own it outright, free and clear, at the end of fifteen years."

And now what have you to offer?

New York, December 5 Mark Granite

[*Mark Granite's proposal of a "United Liberal Party," printed in* The Nation *of December 5, brought a great number of replies. Excerpts from representative letters are printed in the correspondence columns of this issue and more will follow later.*]

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Correspondence

"You Can Count on Me"

To the Editors of The Nation:

I have always been of the opinion, as Mr. Granite seems to indicate he is, too, that our country cannot keep in step with the evolution of progress in other fields until we resolve to rid ourselves of the "stagecoach" type of political thinking as exemplified and personified by the two old-time parties. Yes, you can count me as one of the many liberal and progressive-minded citizens who yearn for the change suggested by Mr. Granite's letter in *The Nation* for December 5.

Washington, December 3 George M. Fox

Any Third Party Is Doomed

To the Editors of The Nation:

I have pretty definite objections to your United Liberal Party. First, the name—at least call it the United Radical Party, for the Woodrow Wilsons, Lloyd Georges, Newton Bakers, John Simons, and Franklin Roosevelts have appropriated the word "liberal" and given it a connotation to which, I gather, you object as much as I do. Second, I believe that any third-party movement is hopelessly doomed. I still have some lingering confidence in the democratic tradition of America, but the two-party system with its ward-heelers, bosses, and graft is just as much part of that system as the ballot itself. I do not think that radicals have paid nearly enough attention to the lessons of Upton Sinclair's campaign in this connection. One of the most politically vulnerable men in the United States with an economic program composed of undiluted moonshine rolled up over 800,000 votes because he captured the Democratic Party's organization in California. If you are planning to work within the existing political framework, I believe that you should set out in like manner to capture the Democratic organization in as many States as possible. Take Mr. Roosevelt at his word as Sinclair did, bore from within, appealing always to the masses and promising them what Sinclair did, along with a program that might give them a chance to obtain security and plenty.

New York, November 29 Quincy Howe

Join the Communist Party

To the Editors of The Nation:

While agreeing with much of what Mark Granite says about the two old political parties, I refuse to join him in urging the formation of "a united liberal party." Long a liberal myself, I am opposed to it at this late day. I had thought the older liberals were aware by now of the bankruptcy of liberalism. A "united liberal party" could be only a union of the forces of delusion, retarding the social progress which they profess to promote.

I am convinced that the "more thoroughgoing distribution" which Mark Granite thinks a liberal party might bring about cannot be accomplished at this stage by liberals. The most liberals could do would be to "redistribute" social power, seemingly achieving it for the middle class but actually leaving it in the hands of the owning class. What is needed is not a redistribution of social power but the abolition of class power. The injustices of class power can only be wiped out and made impossible again by its chief victims, the workers. And the wiping out would be revolutionary, in the Marxian and not the Brain Trust sense of the word.

The revolutionary process is not only too drastic for the liberal, but mainly outside of his realm, that of the middle class. The liberal deplores reaction, but when a crisis appears and the only alternative to reaction is revolution, he finds himself in an untenable and a quite ludicrous position. He modifies, compromises, adulterates, becomes corrupt—unless he turns definitely left, where he should have turned in the first place instead of trying to start a liberal party.

There is a third party, small but growing, which liberals should support. It is the Communist Party. It is not trying to face-lift capitalism. It sees the growth of fascism and the certainty of it here unless it is resisted by the working class, aided by the liberals. This party knows, too, that something more is necessary than a political party, and that this something is struggle—struggle of the workers against their exploiters. The liberal never goes this far—while he remains a liberal. Let him try a little struggle with the worst victims of capitalism, join them in a test of their so-called democratic rights, and he will find out, if his instincts are honest, what may be expected of liberalism.

Norton, Va., December 3 Bruce Crawford

It's Worth Trying

To the Editors of The Nation:

It takes no high degree of prophetic divination to see that the two major political parties are unlikely to rise to the vast needs which today and tomorrow thrust upon America. A party which will unite our present groups of the discontented, and constructively direct their dissatisfaction, is well worth trying to build up.

Brooklyn, November 28 Henry Neumann

Liberalism and Dishwater

To the Editors of The Nation:

I doubt if I have any particular ideas on the question of a new liberal party. My hope and faith in this regard have grown weak during the years, as I am more than fifty years old, have heard of new liberal parties coming during all this half-century, and have never seen one appear yet. And why seek for a new party of the so-called third variety, when we have the Socialist Party? I believe that we shall get a new party for the expression of liberal and radical opinion when the present Socialist Party becomes an all-inclusive Labor Party, composed of hand workers and brain workers after the pattern of the British Labor Party. To expect anything to come out of the liberals is as foolish as to expect a good square meal to come out of dishwater.

New York, November 28 John Haynes Holmes

Have We Learned Our Lesson?

To the Editors of The Nation:

Several thousand years ago liberalism first faced the dilemma of fascism or communism. The lack of a solution resulted in the Dark Ages. At that time liberalism had but one chief proponent—Cicero. We all know what his fate was. He was liquidated by the proletarian dictatorship, and to the de-

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light of the proletariat his head and hands were nailed to the rostrum from which he had so often sought to teach his countrymen, who were not then ready to learn.

Perhaps we are now ready to learn the lessons Cicero had to teach, and which his fate should teach. I, for one, think that liberalism represented by a united liberal party may now be possible.

Mount Vernon, N. Y., December 2 GEORGE FREY

A Crackpot Idea

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

It has been evident for some time that there will be another party, recruited from liberal or left-wing elements of both Democratic and Republican parties, from right-wing Socialists, from Technocrats, Sinclairites, Utopians, Social Creditites, and Farmer Laborites, supplemented by a general assortment of adherents to a variety of crackpot and social theories.

It is my opinion that the party will be the political expression of many of the fascist tendencies already clearly discernible among the various elements from which it will draw its support. They can be brought together and made to function as a political party by an astute leadership that is able and willing to take political advantage of private property's need to defend itself and of the millions still ignorant of the direction in which their salvation lies. The party will be anti-revolutionary; it will be unable to solve the fundamental problem of reconciling the existing political and social state to the machine of the productive system.

This is the great issue of today, not the vague and intangible "distribution of freedom, security, equality, and opportunity" to which you refer in your letter. The new party will be unable to find a solution by the very nature of its composition. Because of its function to defend the existing system of private property it cannot accept the basic reasons of the conflict, namely, the irreconcilable forces inherent in the present order. The Capital Party will have, I repeat, a temporary political success and a large following, but I will not be among them.

New York, November 29 MAXWELL HYDE

United Liberal Clubs

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I have read with deep interest Mark Granite's letters in *The Nation* for December 5. I have always thought that when the new and much-needed liberal party is formed, it will be through the initiative of some "unknown citizen," as Mark Granite calls himself, rather than through any of our present "leaders" now in the public eye. I think the name "United Liberal Party" is a particularly happy one. That is exactly what many of us, heretofore affiliated with the Republican or the Democratic Party, are waiting for and would like to join.

May I offer one suggestion? It would help to crystallize opinion on this subject and give it tangible form and substance if "United Liberal Clubs" were to be organized everywhere throughout the nation. These would be, in the beginning, local circles for the study, consideration, and discussion not merely of the possibility of this new party but of the whole body of liberal thought of the day. This would naturally lead to the formulation of a "new bill of human rights and a simple, practical liberal program" such as Mr. Granite speaks of. I, for one, will be glad to join a United Liberal Club, Local No. 1.

Brooklyn, December 1 HENRY MORROW

The Scottsboro Case

The Nation has received a number of letters in response to its recent editorials on the Scottsboro case, some of them expressing satisfaction with *The Nation's* point of view, others disagreeing more or less violently. Lack of space prevents us from publishing any considerable number of the letters, and it was considered fairer to summarize certain of them than to use only a fraction of what we received. First, Osmond Fraenkel writes concerning the telegram signed Clarence Norris received by Samuel Leibowitz on November 21, which declared that "Mr. Powell . . . I. L. D. attorney" had threatened him with loss of his stay of execution if he permitted Mr. Leibowitz to defend him. Mr. Fraenkel declares that he has a denial from Mr. Powell that any such interview took place and a statement from the prison warden that he was present at the meeting between Powell and Norris and "did not understand Powell to say I. L. D. would withdraw stay of execution." Mr. Fraenkel adds: "While it appears from the warden's telegram that Norris actually sent the message which you quoted, it does not appear under what circumstances he was induced to do so."

Alfred H. Hirsch, secretary of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, sends a letter signed by himself, with forty-three additional typewritten signatures, which makes in general the same points made by the I. L. D. last week, and which adds that "as *The Nation* knows that the parents and the boys themselves" wish the I. L. D. to represent them, it is "respectfully" urged either to "support the I. L. D. in its fight for the boys' freedom or at least to cease endangering the lives of the boys by continuing the unjustified attacks upon the I. L. D. and its handling of the case."

Letters of protest on *The Nation's* position also came from James Rose, Justine Wise Tulin, A. Hoppe, Henry Hart, and others.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Are We at War in China?

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In the *China Weekly Review* of October 6, 1934, there is an illustrated advertisement of a new type of fighting plane used by the United States army. Elsewhere in the magazine is an illustration of a squadron of these planes flying in military formation somewhere in this country. Underneath the first advertisement is a news item concerning the arrival in China of the first shipment of an order of these planes placed by the Chinese government in this country. Then follows an account of the arrival of a certain pursuit officer of the United States army who has been given leave of absence for the purpose of demonstrating these planes. I understand that the Nye committee investigating the munitions industry discovered that the Department of Commerce had been assisting private corporations to secure aviators for enlistment in China who had previously served in the armed forces of the United States. Such practices seem to me to amount to intervention de facto if not de jure, and of course they are being carried on without any warrant from Congress.

A letter just arrived from China informs me that this practical intervention by the United States in the civil war in China is likely to prove decisive. I have written to Senators Borah and Nye asking them if something cannot be done by those constitutionally responsible in such matters to end this unauthorized interference in the affairs of another people. I hope that you will feel the urge to endeavor to inform and arouse public opinion on this matter.

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If the American people are going to supply the "Hessians" in the revolutionary struggle in China, at least it ought to be done by decision of their representatives and not by arbitrary acts of executive officers.

New York, November 30 HARRY F. WARD

The Class-War Prisoners' Christmas Fund

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Each year at this time the General Defense Committee undertakes to provide those who have gone to jail in the cause of labor with a cash Christmas present sufficient to enable them to obtain tobacco and other prison comforts and to buy books or subscribe to magazines. To the families of these men we want to send, in addition to their regular monthly relief checks, something to provide for winter needs.

In this we ask the help of all. We wish also to assure all contributors that no part of their gifts will go for rent, wages, or other overhead, as these services are given to this committee free by the I. W. W.; at the same time this committee does not concern itself with the affiliation or viewpoints of those to whom it sends relief. There are far more prisoners receiving this relief who do not belong to the I. W. W. than who do.

Will those who wish to donate to this fund please send their contributions to 2422 North Halstead Street before December 20. Each contribution will be acknowledged with a copy of our itemized financial statement.

Chicago, December 3 JOSEPH WAGNER, Secretary
General Defense Committee

Clothing for Christmas

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I am again trying to help clothe some of the needy here this winter. Any old clothes you might have will be greatly appreciated if you care to pass them on to me at Box 634. Anything can be used.

Marion, N. C., December 5 GRACE ELLIOTT

Contributors to This Issue

LOUIS FISCHER is the Moscow correspondent of *The Nation.*

CLARENCE HEER, research professor in economics at the University of North Carolina, collaborated in the preparation of "Recent Social Trends."

EDWARD A. FILENE is president of the William Filene's Sons Company of Boston, president of the Twentieth Century Fund, and an outstanding figure among business men who concern themselves with general economic problems.

R. P. BLACKMUR contributes to various literary periodicals.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at the Union Theological Seminary, is the author of "Reflections on the End of an Era."

S. JOSEPHINE BAKER, Doctor of Public Health as well as Doctor of Medicine, was formerly Director of the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the New York City Department of Health.

Contemporary Biography

By

Mark Longaker

First comprehensive appraisal of the new Life-writing as an independent art. The book describes and evaluates the work of Lytton Strachey, Gamaliel Bradford, André Maurois, Emil Ludwig, Philip Guedalla, Hilaire Belloc and some American biographers. The difference between modern biography and that of the past, an exposition of the scholarly, journalistic and literary types of writing, new trends and theories, are a few of the subjects covered by this timely contribution to literary criticism.

Just Out, $2.50

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS
PHILADELPHIA

Father Coughlin—"Crackpot" or Flaming Comet?

"A voice and a passion carried through the microphone to millions. . . . ."

Next week in *THE NATION* appears the first of two striking articles on the Radio Priest by Raymond Gram Swing: his early background, his present power, his real responsibility. How does the Vatican feel toward the League for Social Justice and its founder, the priest of the Church of the Little Flower? Does Father Coughlin plan to lead either a new liberal party or a fascist party? Mr. Swing's articles cannot tell what Father Coughlin does not yet know himself, but they explain the forces which are shaping the answer.

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Labor and Industry

The United Front Gains Ground

By LUDWIG LORE

THE founding of the Third International in March, 1919, was not the beginning but the end of a process which split the Socialist labor movement. In a generation of rapid, successful growth, wide circles of the proletarian movement had become imbued with the hope that it would ultimately be possible to secure the power to the working class by peaceful parliamentary methods. Eduard Bernstein's theory of a gradual evolution into the proletarian state was laughed at in the nineties, was seriously discussed and hotly repudiated in the early years of the twentieth century, and by the time the World War broke out had completely permeated the consciousness of the radical labor movement. The powerful influence of the trade unions underscored the conception that a multiplicity of social services would eventually add up to a Socialist sum total.

In the hothouse atmosphere of the World War these conscious and unconscious tendencies experienced a mushroom-like growth. With few exceptions the Socialist parties supported the nations in their war aims, at first shamefacedly but with increasing enthusiasm as the war hysteria engulfed the populations. The conflict between these reformist majorities and the revolutionary minorities which party discipline had more or less effectively concealed came slowly to the surface. The victory of the Russian Bolsheviki in November, 1917, gave the uncompromising Marxists a rallying-point. It was inevitable that the elements which came together here should regard the Social Democracy as their greatest enemy, as that force which had diverted the world's working class from the path which might have led to victory. The Social Democracy will have to be destroyed, said Lenin at the first Congress of the Third International, before the workers of the world will come into their own. It was this sentiment which gave the Communist program and tactics the direction they have since taken.

The immediate result was a bitter controversy between the old and new parties. Alarmed at the hatreds it engendered, the Sozialistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft, an organization with its seat in Vienna representing independent left-Socialist groups in various countries, proposed an international unity convention in 1921. A joint conference was held in April, 1922, but the attempt at unity was abortive. Mutual resentments and distrust were too great to be thus easily overcome. The Second and a Half International, as this new movement was scornfully called by Social Democrats and Communists, had been encouraged to take this step by a united-front resolution adopted at the third congress of the Communist International in June, 1921. "Under a united front of labor," this resolution read, "we understand a union of all workers who are determined to fight against capitalism." Optimistically the would-be arbitrators ignored the attitude of Moscow.

The Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in December, 1922, reiterated its demand for a united front. But again the resolution, while calling for unity, stressed the importance of organizational independence with "complete freedom of propaganda against the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social Democracy."

With the coming of fascism in Europe the labor movement entered upon a new phase of its existence. In Germany labor leaders were attacked, imprisoned, and slain, labor headquarters and meeting places were demolished, and property was destroyed. Slowly the masses awakened to the fact that their own disunion was the enemy's greatest strength. In June, 1932, the German Social Democracy, which had up to that time haughtily declined to discuss cooperation with the Communists on any basis whatsoever, approached the Communist Party with a united-front proposal. But the latter refused to consider "unity with social fascist leaders." Socialist suggestions for an armistice between the two parties were likewise rejected. "The Socialist Party of Germany is still the most important social support of the bourgeoisie," we read in a circular letter sent out by the Central Executive of the Communist Party of Germany in July, 1932.

In February, 1933, the Socialist Labor (Second) International made its much-discussed offer to the Communist International for the creation of a united front against fascism. Moscow refused to entertain the proposal, and referred the question to its national affiliates to be decided by each unit on the basis of national needs and conditions. In a statement to its parties issued in March of last year, the Comintern ordered that the executives of the Social Democratic organizations in their respective countries be approached for united action against fascism along specific lines. Though considerably less than the Second International had hoped to accomplish, it was a step in the right direction. It was the first intimation by the Third International of its willingness to depart from the position it had stubbornly held so long—that unity must come from below, through the members, not from above through the organizational apparatus of the Social Democracy.

Before the unwieldy machinery of national united-front action could be set in motion, the German labor movement was crushed without a show of resistance by the weight of the National Socialist offensive. Scarcely a year later Austria's brave Social Democracy succumbed behind the barricades. Fascism is sweeping the Balkans, is lifting its head in democratic France, has appeared and for the moment subsided before a demonstration of united Labor strength in Great Britain, is hoisting its flag over the shambles of Asturias and Catalonia in Spain. Over the torn and bleeding bodies of these victims of a relentless fascist offensive, partisan hatred is being forgotten. There is a majesty in the sacrifices that have been and are still being made that strips factional issues of importance. There is now an emotional as well as an intellectual realization of the need for unity, the only hopeful sign in the unrelieved blackness of the European scene.

On July 27, 1934, the Communist and Socialist parties of France paved the way with a united-front pact. "The Socialist Party and the Communist Party," the document reads in part, "sign a pact of united action by which they

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pledge to organize in common and to participate with all their resources (organizations, press, militants, elected delegates, and so forth) in a campaign throughout the country having for its aim to mobilize the working-class population (a) against fascist organization for its disarmament and dissolution; (b) for the defense of democratic liberties, proportional representation, and a new Parliament; (c) against all war preparations; (d) against government by decree; (e) against fascist terror in Germany and Austria; (f) for the freedom of Ernst Thälmann and Karl Seitz and all other anti-fascist prisoners."

A commission consisting of seven members from each side arranged the common plan and character of joint demonstrations. Unimportant differences of opinion were easily overcome; the united demonstrations were harmonious throughout and well attended. Both sides are satisfied with the results of their courageous step. The sentiment it created has spread to the trade-union movement more rapidly than its most fervent defenders dared hope. A merger of the two national federations, the Confédération Générale du Travail (Amsterdam) and the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (Moscow), is already complete.

Austria, the Saar district, and Spain likewise report a united front of the two parties. On the other hand, the Social Democrats of Sweden, Denmark, Czecho-Slovakia, and Great Britain—those parties, notably, which have or hope to have a stake in their governments—have declined to entertain united-front proposals. The past with its Communist "maneuvers" is still too fresh to be taken lightly. Then, too, and this is probably the weightier consideration, these parties are unwilling to sacrifice the possibilities of coalition to tread new and untried paths.

October saw a new development in the international movement for united action. This time it was the Communist International which came to the Second International with the offer to extend the anti-fascist action of the French parties to all sections of the two Internationals. The Second International was reluctant to take this decisive step but left its affiliates free to decide for unity wherever circumstances were propitious.

In America, far as yet from the tragic problems which are troubling fascist Europe, the united-front movement is finding expression in an interesting intra-organizational development within the Socialist Party. The Norman Thomas-Dan Hoan wing, with a majority in the National Executive Committee, has come out for cooperation with the Communist Party against the opposition of the Old Guard, led by the group which controls the New York State organization—Waldman, Oneal, Solomon, Lee, Vladeck, and Abe Cahan. Mr. Thomas, acutely conscious of the influence of the Old Guard, particularly of the *Jewish Forward* group, in and outside New York, is making every effort to avoid the threatened split. At the recent session of the National Executive at Boston, this group accepted a compromise and voted for a united front "in principle," leaving it to the State and local organizations to take whatever action they deem advisable. Decision of the problem on a national scale was referred to the national convention to be held in 1936.

There is little wisdom in Norman Thomas's strategy. His compromise will satisfy neither side and will merely serve to increase bitterness and confusion within the party organization to its own lasting detriment and factional disintegration. The Old Guard never surrenders. At a meeting held in New York it served notice of its intention to organize against any Communist influx into the Socialist Party.

On the same day on which the leaders of the Socialist Party decided to take no stand on the most pressing problem before the labor movement, two smaller groups, the American Workers' Party and the Communist League of America (Trotzkyists), met in convention and decided to intrust their mutual fate to a new joint organization, the Workers' Party of the United States. The A. W. P. was an outgrowth of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, an organization created by former Communists, left-wing Socialists, and radical trade unionists, which has made considerable headway during the last few years in the organization of unemployed leagues which have several hundred thousand members, chiefly in the Middle Western and Southern States; it has taken an active part in the textile and mine strikes of the last few years and achieved effective contacts for organization work in the basic industries. A. J. Muste, former director of Brookwood Labor College, was the chairman. The Communist League consisted in the main of former members of the party who followed Trotzky into organizational exile. This group, like the A. W. P., has played an active and constructive part in the trade-union struggles of recent years. James P. Cannon, for many years on the Central Committee of the Communist Party, is probably the most widely known of its members. The new party, which enters the American scene with approximately 2,000 members in good standing, hopes to unite a Marxian position with an "American approach" by pursuing a sane course of action adapted to political and economic conditions in the United States. A. J. Muste is the chairman of the new organization.

This is a small beginning but a beginning in the right direction. It takes cognizance of the important fact that united action alone will not solve the problems of the revolutionary labor movement. At best it bridges organizational antagonisms, reduces expensive duplication of effort, and avoids friction before the outside world. But it can never become greater than the sum of its parts. To become an important factor in the life of the working class, united fronts —unthinkable as this may seem at the present moment— must grow into united organizations, big enough in spirit to overcome personal resentments and to work out a common plan combining healthy growth with revolutionary action.

Characteristically, Moscow will be the first to break with the theoretical and organizational inhibitions of the past. A special conference of the Red Trade Union International held in the Soviet capital late in September showed this quite plainly in its discussions of the united-front question, which formed the chief topic on the agenda. A motion by A. Losowsky, chairman of the R. T. U. I., was adopted, pledging Communist parties and Communist trade-union organizations in all parts of the world to work wherever possible for organizational unity on the basis of free trade unions. Wherever this is possible, the motion stipulates, red trade unions and trade-union federations must be dissolved forthwith, and Communists must devote their energies to active and exemplary work as members and officials within the free trade-union organizations.

It is true that except in the Soviet Union the red trade unions are small and insignificant minority groups. But the

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self-abnegation that lies in Moscow's withdrawal from organizational control deserves commendation. Moscow would not dream, of course, of abandoning its much more important political sections to merge them with those of the Socialist Labor International. To attempt to merge elements so contradictory in outlook before they have been drawn by a common immediate purpose into a semblance of intellectual and spiritual alignment would invite disaster. There are indications, however, that this process is under way. The new Social Democratic movement in Austria, the Socialist majority movement in Spain, the radicalization of the Socialist Party in France, the theoretical and tactical reorientation of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the American Socialist Party, and, last but not least, the saner and more realistic outlook of the Communist International are close enough in their interpretation of the import of recent events to make eventual cooperation possible.

Labor Notes

The N. A. M. Proposes

AS part of the newly contrived scheme by which industry intends to "cooperate" with the government in hastening recovery, the National Association of Manufacturers once more proposes that Congress should enact legislation akin to the British Labor Disputes Act. This is not the first time such a suggestion has been made by the N. A. M.; and it will not be the last time. There is every reason to expect that the N. A. M. will try to establish restraints on the right to strike if, as, and when any legislation intended to fortify Section 7-a and make it permanent is brought before Congress. All the problems of industrial relationship could be solved, according to the N. A. M., by a simple formula: outlawing sympathetic strikes, inhibiting walkouts for union recognition, restricting the political activities of organized labor, and so forth. You get rid of labor unrest, in other words, by suppressing its manifestations. The N. A. M. has nothing to say about the possibility of employers' helping to maintain the industrial peace not only by relaxing their stubborn refusal to grant union recognition, but also by complying with the law of Section 7-a as laid down by the several labor boards. On the contrary, the N. A. M. has not retreated from the position it took some months ago, when it advised employers to ignore the majority-rule principle of the Houde decision, and to resist, to the last legal ditch, every attempt to put that principle into effect. Proposals to restrict the right to strike come with ill grace from an organization which has strained every nerve to perpetuate among employers a state of mind which makes strikes inevitable. Such considerations of equity are hardly likely, however, to deter the N. A. M.; which is one reason, among others, for watching with the greatest of care the progress of labor legislation at the next session of Congress.

How to Win a Strike

AFTER five weeks of unbroken solidarity in their strike in the Passaic valley, 25,000 silk and rayon dye workers have won a two-year contract providing for a wage rate of 66 cents an hour for men and 48 cents for women, a maximum thirty-six-hour week, and a preferential union shop. To be sure, the union was demanding a thirty-hour week, a basic rate of $1, and the closed shop; but the organization has a remarkable record of attainment for so new a union. The Federation of Silk and Rayon Dyers and Finishers, a section of the United Textile Workers, was organized in 1933; it raised wages through its first strike from 15 and 25 cents an hour to 40 and 57½ cents, and reduced working hours to forty a week. The present settlement, though it represents no great increase in wages, does mean employment for more workers and gives the union greatly increased power in the shops. Machinery for settling disputes is also set up. The strike offers additional proof that action by the workers themselves through a strong union is the most important factor in improving conditions. The strike had other interesting aspects. The rules of the union prevented the committee elected to negotiate with the employers from putting forward anything other than the original demands, and none of the leaders was sufficiently well established to use his prestige to back any compromise. It was a rank-and-file settlement. It is interesting to note also that all union officials were cut off the pay roll during the strike. Incidentally, the wages of business agents in the federation are fixed at those received by workers in the shop for a full week ($23 under the old agreement). The dyers also broke with the A. F. of L. tradition in their reaction to the attempt to brand the strike as red. At least one official, Vice-President Vigoritto, when reproached for being red, retorted, "Better red than yellow." One other fact deserves to be mentioned, namely, the inclusion in the union of "maintenance men"—electricians, carpenters, and so on. They were admitted in the name of industrial unionism, and their solidarity with the dyers was an important factor in the success of the strike.

Employers' Tactics

ACTING under the authority of the Railway Labor Act, the Railway Mediation Board has just concluded an investigation of charges that shop workers employed by the Atlantic Coast Line were coerced into voting for the company union at a system election held by the board last September. The case goes straight to the heart of the act, which rests on the premise that collective bargaining can succeed only where employee representatives are freely and fairly chosen. The testimony brought out at the hearings, as reported in a recent issue of *Labor,* reveals a shocking story. The A. F. of L. Railway Employees' Department has sought to establish that workers were threatened with discharge and loss of seniority if they did not vote for the company union; that the management encouraged the belief it would close all repair shops in which the workers chose the trade unions; that foremen actively campaigned for the company union and sat in the rooms where the ballots were cast; that it was intimated to employees that the management had ways and means of knowing how each ballot was marked; that the company let drop strong hints that wage rates might be cut if the company union were upset; that a company operative stood at the door of each polling place and threatened employees with immediate dismissal if they voted for the A. F. of L. Should the mediation board come to the conclusion that the charges of coercion are well-founded, summary discipline may be expected in short order. Needless to say, the board will be empowered to throw out the election result. Beyond this, violators of the Railway Labor Act upon conviction in the federal courts make themselves liable to fines and jail sentences. It will be interesting to observe the sequel if the board decides that the Coast Line was guilty of coercion. Will the direct and weighty sanctions of the Railway Labor Act prove more effective than the roundabout and insubstantial sanctions of Section 7-a?

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Books, Music, Drama, Films

Sauve-qui-peut

Tarabas. A Guest on Earth. By Joseph Roth. The Viking Press. $2.50.

"TARABAS" reflects, I think, a prevalent mode of the European imagination, a plague rather than a mode, visited upon it by the war and the disintegration of society. It is thus not alone. It follows and accentuates its author's earlier "Job." It is in line with such novels as Kallinikov's "Women and Monks" and Robert Neumann's "Flood," and is twin brother to Céline's "Journey to the End of the Night." It represents with these, particularly, the corruption of the novel as the chief form of rational art, and, generally, the resumption of barbarism as the standard of life as well as the motive of politics. As Ortega y Gasset pointed out in "The Modern Theme," it is the natural consequence of the inability to preserve the dichotomy or balance of the spiritual and the rational. To the weakened or personalized imagination which must depend upon itself, it provides the nearest escape; which is why, in the books named and all their analogues, the process seems fascinating and profound even when it is most revolting.

The theme, if not the right one, is attractive. Roth has made of his book a warm and exciting fable of the purgation of a violent soul. The sins of arrogance, lust, and murder, committed by the prescription of a gipsy fortune-teller, which is to say, committed by fatality and in innocence, are atoned for, also by prescription, in the wilful humiliation of beggary and disease. Colonel Tarabas, soldier, the victim of these prescriptions, is a murderer and a saint, and therefore a guest on earth. The moral of the fable is, I suppose, that barbarous one which lingers in the human blood: only the excessive, the extravagant, the violent soul can reach salvation, and the particular holiness of salvation will be an excessive violence in reverse. Or at least the spectacle of such salvation is presented as the great exemplar. The young man who will not weep, said Santayana, the old man who will not laugh, are barbarians. Tarabas never wept in his youth, and his premature old age was a beggary of tears.

Besides its warmth and excitement, which make it readable and speciously persuasive, the fable of Tarabas has an essential quality of simple-mindedness. The agency of incident and the source of meaning are in superstition, and, a very different thing, the fable has a kind of center in the supernatural. These are the easiest resources of the deracinated imagination, the imagination which for one reason or another cannot be content with the life before it. For example, Tarabas is governed by what the fortune-teller said and by such things as the sight of a red-headed Jew; and the crisis of his life is brought out by an accidental miracle: the debauchery of his soldiers lays bare an image of the Virgin. Thus the superstitious elements in his life are brought to fruition in terms of the supernatural, and indeed superstition is seen as the overt sign of the workings of God.

Now it is possible—and we have the great recent example of Thomas Mann's "Joseph and His Brothers"—to represent a life so actuated and so understood by its protagonists in a rational manner. Then we have a novel, something which judges life by the mere fidelity and understanding, the honesty, so to speak, of the mirror the artist uses. The great novels are all of this order, and make no surrender to the barbarousness, the irrationality, the formlessness of their subjects; they make use of the full resources of the novelist's mind. Works like "Tarabas" make immediately every possible surrender; there is no point of view separate from the subject—the saving irony—but a rash uniting with it. The credibility of the book depends on the credulous omniscience of the characters within it, and, as in a fairy tale, there is no labor of representation. Everything is taken on trust and instinct because there is no other way of taking it; which is what was meant by calling the particular example simple-minded. The result is not a novel in the sense above, but a barbarous fable acting in its place. In the novel the normal is made to seem unusual by the strength and completeness of the imagination; but in works of this order the unusual, the extravagant, and the violent are taken, at their face or superstitious value, as the only source and measure of the normal. The effect is exciting and warm with the large emotions of terror and passion and woe, and the effect seems ultimate because it is immediate. But for readers whose imagination retains any mark of the rational mold, it can only seem the true literature of escape, a retreat into darkness.

R. P. BLACKMUR

Some Theatrical History

Letters from Green Room Ghosts. By John Mason Brown. Viking Press. $2.

The American Theater as Seen by Its Critics, 1752-1934. Edited by John Mason Brown and Montrose J. Moses. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

ONE of the characteristics which distinguish John Mason Brown from the other practicing dramatic critics of New York is the depth and intensity of his interest in the theater as theater. Most of us found ourselves following our rather odd profession partly, at least, as the result of accident, and most of us confine ourselves largely to one or another aspect of our subject. I am told, however, that Mr. Brown resolved in youth to be a reviewer of plays, and the fact helps to explain the breadth of his knowledge and enthusiasm. He is interested in the theater as such, in everything which concerns it, and in its past as well as its present. For these reasons his comments on the plays of the moment are frequently made from an original point of view; for these reasons also he has much to say beyond the limits of the ordinary review, and the two books under consideration are the result of his interest in theatrical history.

The first is a series of five very suavely written letters, each supposed to be addressed by some great actor or playwright of the past to some one of our contemporaries whose aims or ambitions the great shade might be expected to understand and sympathize with. Thus Peg Woffington writes to Ina Claire, Inigo Jones to Robert Edmond Jones, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan to Noel Coward. The form is difficult but Mr. Brown manages it with great skill, and succeeds not only in revivifying the past by showing how, *mutatis mutandis,* it lives again in the present, but also in instituting some very shrewd comparisons which are not at first sight obvious. The following passage, for example, throws an interesting light upon the work of both Marlowe, by whom it is supposed to be written, and Eugene O'Neill, by whom it is supposed to be received:

> Your small, mean men and women, in their kitchens and their waterfront dives, their farmhouses and their flats, stand linked to the universe. Like minor rivers which empty their waters directly into the ocean, they may not visibly affect the fathomless sea into which they flow, but none the less they feel the pressure of its tides. These earthlings of your creation have wills of their own which are in scale no more heroic than their possessors are, but consciously or unconsciously your people serve as reflectors

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for a larger will, and by so doing they shine with a light which would not otherwise be theirs.

The second of the two books is interesting from several angles. No other anthology of American dramatic criticism exists, and this criticism is valuable not only in itself but also for the light it throws upon the history of the drama in America. Nothing makes that history more vivid than direct contact with opinions formed at the moment when famous plays or actors were first attracting attention, and to read many of the reviews here published is to come upon pleasant surprises. Everybody knows about "furious Winter's rages" apropos Ibsen. Less well known but at least as worthy of attention is the series of short but extremely penetrating pieces about George M. Cohan, written on various occasions by Arthur Ruhl. And who could guess that a minor panjandrum like Richard Grant White, after a visit to a burlesque in 1869, delivered himself of the following opinion quite worthy any contemporary bad boy:

> It was as if Venus, in her quality of the goddess of laughter, had come upon the stage. And if there was a likeness to Venus in the costume, as well as in the manner, I must confess that I saw in it no chance of harm to myself or to any of my fellow-spectators, old or young, male or female. Indeed, it seems rather to be desired that the points of a fine woman should be somewhat better known, and more thought of among us than they have been. They seem to me quite as important, and I think they are quite as interesting, as those of a fine horse.

Slightly less than half of the volume is devoted to still living critics whose work is illustrated in characteristic samples. To judge them from these is doubtless to judge them from their best, but that is how they should be judged. And they come off, I think, very well indeed. Any writer who is compelled to write regularly will commit his occasional follies, but despite all that has been said of them the New York dramatic critics present a rather surprising amount of good sense, sincerity, penetration, and wit. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Militant Pacifism

The Power of Non-Violence. By Richard B. Gregg. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

MR. GREGG has written the most authoritative book on non-violence yet published in this country. His years of residence in India and close friendship with Gandhi have given him a thorough knowledge of the Mahatma's religio-political technique. But his book is more than an exposition of Gandhi's theory and practice. It is a careful and scholarly analysis of the method of non-violence in terms of social psychology, in which every argument is studded with examples prompted by the author's intimate acquaintance with the literature on the subject and with the history of the movement in India. Mr. Gregg is no advocate of non-resistance. He advocates a militant type of non-violent resistance. "Courageous violence," he declares, ". . . is better than cowardly acquiescence. Cowardice is morally more harmful than violence"—a judgment which implies, in the absence of any further discussion of the matter, that policies of non-resistance are invariably prompted by cowardice. This hardly does justice to certain types of pacifist idealism which may have been too individualistic to be politically either realistic or effective but which were informed by a high type of courage.

Mr. Gregg takes social conflict for granted. Non-violence is, for him, simply the most effective method of conducting warfare. It destroys the morale of the enemy, disturbs both his prestige and his self-respect, and offers a stronger guaranty than violence of the ultimate victory of the righteous cause. "Non-violent resistance," he writes, "is not wholly unlike the principles of military demoralization." Approaching the problem from this angle he naturally has a great deal to say about the morale of contending forces in conflict. Military commanders are quoted to prove that morale is the most important factor in warfare. Non-violence, he contends, breaks the morale of the enemy by mitigating the force of hatred, destroying the self-respect of the foe, and injuring his moral prestige: "Deeper than rulership by political governments, banks, and classes is the control coming from ideas and sentiments. . . . Even where government is maintained by the physical power of police and soldiers, the control is largely psychological, through the fear created by such force." Here Mr. Gregg weakens his own argument by placing the fear of force in the category of a psychological factor and failing to mention the more genuinely psychic factor of reverence, without which no political authority can long maintain itself. Power bereft of reverence destroys its authority by the very desperation with which it seeks to increase fear as a substitute for reverence. In spite of such occasional confusions Mr. Gregg's arguments on this point are full of wisdom and sanity. They ought to be studied by radicals who have never considered to what degree their policies give reactionaries the opportunity of posing plausibly as the apostles of the eternal verities.

It would not be fair to Mr. Gregg to suggest that he is interested in non-violence only as a method of winning conflict. He is more interested in "solving conflict" than in winning for a particular side, though when he speaks about the efficiency of non-violence it is not always clear whether it is victory or an ultimate reconciliation which non-violence is alleged to achieve so efficaciously. The conscious emphasis is upon the latter point. "Non-violent resistance differs in one psychological respect from war," he writes. "The object is not to make the opponent believe that he is crushed, beaten, and humiliated, but to persuade him to realize that he can attain security or whatever else his ultimate desire may be by easier and surer means than he saw formerly." The difficulty with this important emphasis upon reconciliation is that it presupposes that men fight only for some ultimate human desire which can be reconciled with the ultimate desire of their foe upon a higher level. This presupposition hardly explains the behavior of British imperialists in India of the type of Winston Churchill or Lord Lloyd. Some of the oligarchs of our dying capitalism would probably continue fighting for power even after they had begun to suspect that every essential human value could be conserved in a new form of society.

Mr. Gregg's book, despite its great merit, leaves some important problems in confusion. Since his defense of non-violence is consistently pragmatic, it prompts the question whether it is possible to condemn violence so absolutely within the framework of a pragmatic position. The authority of governments may rest upon psychic as well as physical factors; but since the importance of physical factors is not denied, can it be proved that physical force always yields to psychic force? Mr. Gregg may have proved that it is important to reduce violence to a minimum. But he has not thereby proved that force may not be necessary in a final crisis. The unqualified character of his loyalty to the principle of non-violence is all the more confusing when he insists on emphasizing the psychic factors involved in the use of physical force and suggests that non-violence is merely a further extension of these factors. "We have learned that even in war the mental and moral factors greatly predominate over the physical. This predominance is greatly increased in non-violent resistance." If it is as relative as that why insist that violence is totally inadmissible? And why suggest by implication that propaganda, which manipulates only psychic factors, is intrinsically more moral than physical force?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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The Facts About Birth Control

Birth Control: Its Use and Misuse. By Dorothy Dunbar Bromley. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

GIVEN our present social problems, accurate knowledge of safe contraceptive methods is essential as a health measure of far-reaching importance. Archaic legislation in the majority of our States and the unwillingness of organized medicine to meet the issue, combined with the ignorance on this subject of the average physician as well as of the laity, have left the field of instruction open to the quack and the charlatan, with results that at the least are unfortunate and at the worst may be disastrous. When drugstores, mail-order houses, and filling stations are freely disseminating misinformation together with contraceptive drugs and devices, it would seem evident that conditions in this respect had reached a new low level in the history of legitimate medical practice. No one with the slightest knowledge of any phase of this subject has any doubt that so-called birth control, irrespective of whether it is legal or illegal, is widespread, and that prohibition in this respect is as futile as it has been in the matter of alcohol.

To meet the need of decent and fair enlightenment on the subject of controlled child-bearing, Mrs. Bromley's book comes as a wise and refreshing contribution. It has taken courage to write so frank a discussion of a problem which is still taboo in certain groups; it has taken wisdom of an unusual quality to recognize and to meet the arguments against the dissemination of such information without the taint of propaganda; and it has taken intelligence of a rare quality to produce a book on a medical as well as a social problem that may be read with interest by doctors, social workers, churchmen, and educators as well as by that group which comprises the remainder of adult humanity and which is so loosely called the "laity."

Mrs. Bromley's book is the most comprehensive survey of this subject that I have read. It is, in fact, so comprehensive and so detailed that any complete review would involve almost as much discussion and space as the book itself. The chapter on the Doctors and Birth Control is a challenge which the medical profession must meet whether it wishes to or not. The discussion of Advertised Methods might well concern our legislatures and lead to a more open-minded lifting of the restrictions that are now hampering the education and practice of physicians. And if any further argument is needed regarding the actual danger to life of our present shortsighted policy, it is contained in the chapter on abortion. During the past summer I had an opportunity of visiting the abortion clinics in Soviet Russia. One need have no sympathy with the political aspects of that communistic experiment to be convinced that, in this field at least, the Soviets have met and solved a problem of far-reaching magnitude. Abortions in our country are common and everyday affairs, but because of legal restrictions properly qualified physicians will not perform them. Consequently a host of unqualified midwives and often equally unqualified doctors carry on a surreptitious practice of producing abortions under conditions that are often so filthy and dangerous to life that our toll of deaths is a criminal outrage in a society that calls itself civilized. The right and practice of self-determination in child-bearing cannot be controlled by any form of legislation; our experience has shown that beyond the shadow of a doubt. If abortions are to be performed—and they *are* being performed, with an appallingly high mortality rate—then we should at least allow this practice under conditions that afford the maximum of protection and safety. But the true prevention of abortion lies in properly regulated dissemination of information regarding safe contraceptive practice. Mrs. Bromley's book answers the questions that are being asked in increasing ratio as to why birth control is a pressing social problem. It gives the essential facts of birth-control methods. It deserves a wide circulation as a valuable contribution to the welfare of humanity.

S. JOSEPHINE BAKER

Music

A Most Useful Composition

WITH "A Song for Occupations," which was given its first New York performance at Carnegie Hall recently by the Westminster Chorus, Roy Harris provides some of the firmest music being written for us today. This vigorous work, for mixed voices unaccompanied, was the most satisfying amalgamation of tonal and ideological symbolism one could think of. Anything by Harris can compel our respect, but in this new choral number there is a deeper and more sustained stimulation, possibly because the vocal point of reference, which seems so strongly to underlie Harris's instrumental works, is here given total emphasis. Those who call Harris aesthetically "of the right" probably have in mind the non-instrumental tests by which he often seems to have guided and restricted his invention of new sounds. Any who have heard his "Chorale, for String Orchestra," adapted from the slow movement of his "Sextet for Strings" and appealingly played by Werner Janssen and the Philharmonic, must grant that Harris's acquaintanceship with pre-instrumental lore and with that period in the history of European music when instrumental timbres were but beginning to proclaim their genius, makes naturally for a fresh emphasis upon the imagery of vocalization. In this respect, the new choral number is the logical fruition of his interests.

In these columns a few weeks back we discussed a new work by Hindemith, three orchestral numbers from his opera, "Matthias der Maler." The contrast between the molds of this work and of "A Song for Occupations" is revealing. Hindemith, it is true, has the honor of being suspected by the guardians of Hitlerite orthodoxy. He has professional enemies who can now attack him in the name of the "national cause." But whatever his literal offense, we believe that he has met the deeper requirements of Nazism. The Hindemith work is a contrapuntal projection of that profound but ominous trinity—hymn, lullaby, and military march. But Harris has found a more wholesome cultural solution for the issues of the day by musically accentuating the tonalities and rhythms of Whitman's ecstatically conversational prose, the record of men busied with their tasks. Beneath it, doubtless, lie the same patterns of glorification, solace, and challenge that inform Hindemith's work, but an important secondary or derivative realm has been given prominence, the realm of humane speech. The result is a more socialistic emphasis: Whitman's generous catalogue of efforts and tools, wholly stressing the constructive, non-competitive, *communicative* aspect of work—backed by the musical magnification of the fluencies inherent in the poet's syllables.

The earlier "Chorale, for String Orchestra" possessed a reminiscent flavor, like that of Hindemith's hymn-lullaby-march combination. It provoked a sweet melancholy which, though a permanent aspect of our nature, cannot serve adequately the central business of idealizing our present concerns. The "Song for Occupations" is more relevant to our needs, yet is free of the pugnacity that mars the Hitlerite formula of "recovery." The superstructure which Hindemith attempted to acquire by the use of counterpoint, Harris attains primarily by reference to the rhythms of speech—though broad contrapuntal swells are also a major aspect of Harris's appeal. Hindemith's emphasis is commendable in that it does not surrender intellection as an

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ingredient of production. But Harris's emphasis has the greater virtue that it can at once provide us with a *return to origins* and avoid the charge of reaction. This seems important; for in renouncing some of our recent excesses we must "go back"—yet we must do so without sinking into archaistic reverie. In reaffirming linguistic qualities, Harris seems to have found the satisfactory humane compromise.

The response of the audience was gratifying. There was none of that deadly amuse-me-or-off-with-your-head attitude of the usual concert-going public, who receive their entertainers with the weary passiveness of some fabulously jaded Oriental potentate while the performing virtuoso in desperation rips at the keyboard like a tornado or turns somersaults on a slack wire fifty feet above the stage. There are doubtless many important steps to be taken before we have completely thrown off this state of musicological corruption wherein people consider music with the casual curiosity of an uninformed idler killing an extra hour among the fossils in a museum of natural history. Our whole philosophy and methodology of living must be remade before this ominous element has been eliminated and something of that cultural hunger which seems to animate the audiences of contemporary Russia can again prevail. But Harris's new work goes far toward restoring the participant function of audiences as distinct from a merely receptive one. And it probably does so precisely because of its anchorage to Whitman. Above this, the balloon of musical exaltation could soar; but it was held in leash by definite utilitarian problems. It was not the music of other worlds, but of this world imaginatively bettered.

If the composer does not here give us merely the alembication of hymn and lullaby, neither does he ask that we obediently surrender our ears to the clanks and clangors of the factory. Instead, he gives us people, whose talk of ways and means is transmogrified into a musical frame of communication. Mixing our terms, we might call Harris's protracted singing catalogue the musical equivalent of pragmatism, the philosophy of a people who would discover poetry in jobs. Incidentally, Harris's technical debts to the Ninth Symphony were much to his credit. For what he took from Beethoven were some of the most dramatic patterns in the choral movement. And perhaps in this symphony the significant issue of today was symbolically faced over a century ago, when the master of instrumental construction depicts, in the "Hymn to Joy" of his finale, the triumphant emergence of vocal organization above the environment of machine-made sound. This thought suggests that *a cappella* singing is not the ultimate step. The instrumental texture should continue to play its important role in our musical symbolization of non-musical factors; but as in this symphony the instrumentation must be purely preparatory and subservient to vocal affirmation. Meanwhile, in Harris's vigorous setting of Whitman's words we have ample evidence of a rich vein which should encourage other composers to join him, and himself to continue, in this emphasis.

We should also append our tribute to the Westminster Chorus, which interpreted the Harris work so ably. The appeal of the evening was by no means confined to the "Song for Occupations." In the singers' repertoire, among other things, were Negro spirituals, a cowboy song, a Pawnee victory song, some conventional concert numbers, a discreetly impressionistic piece, 'The Shower," presented to the Chorus by the Composers' Union in Moscow (it pleasantly tells of "rain falling on children and little birds"), and a work by Orlandus Lassus, "The Echo," abounding in pensiveness, with a humorous naturalistic freshness which we usually associate with a much later date. An ingenious item, ingeniously rendered. John Finley Williamson, the conductor, had made of his singers a most versatile instrument, capable of many moods and manners; and the evening in its entirety was one of the season's major events.

KENNETH BURKE

Drama

Vine Leaves in His Hair

THE most exciting event of a busy week in the theater was not any of the new plays revealed but the production of "Hedda Gabler" by the Civic Repertory Company now operating at the Broadhurst. Miss Le Gallienne's performance of her part has always been admirable, but the production as a whole is vastly more finished than the one formerly seen on Fourteenth Street, and it comes as a fresh reminder that at least one of Ibsen's plays is almost as exciting as it ever was. Even in "Ghosts" the burden of a now granted thesis seems to grow heavier and heavier; even in the best of the later "symbolic" plays much of the iridescent mist which used to surround them looks more and more like mere fog; but Hedda remains a character as enduringly real and as perversely fascinating as ever. Among all the inventions of her creator she is, perhaps, the most complexly human, the least explicable as merely the projection of an idea. And for that reason there is about her something of the "infinite variety" of an even greater character whom age cannot wither nor custom stale.

Hedda is a neurotic. Even the blindest of Ibsen's contemporary critics saw that and denounced it. But what they did not understand, or rather what they understood just sufficiently to revolt against it in horror, was the fact that her creator saw deep enough into her soul to understand her perversity and to make her, not a monster, but a woman. Ibsen was no decadent show-off prating of "splendid sins" and magnificent cruelties. Hedda's mean acts, conceived and executed in the rage of impotence which can feel power only by destroying, remain plainly mean. But Ibsen saw in her perversities something which only a few men of his time—Dostoevski, for example—would have been capable of seeing: namely, that her reactions are not merely evil or merely the evidences of a malady to be disposed of when it has been called disease. She is rebelling perversely and unsuccessfully against something which should be rebelled against. The things which exasperate her—the complacent spiritual poverty of her group and the dull "goodness" of her vegetating husband—are exasperating things. She is therefore not merely a villain, an evil woman. She has made an unsuccessful adjustment to a situation which any vital person would have found intolerable; and the play built about her was "immoral" in the shocked eyes of such respectables as William Winter because it laid the blame no more upon Hedda, whom dulness had perverted, than upon the others, whom it had merely stultified. Those famous "vine leaves" which she hoped to see in Lovborg's hair are only a symbol of the neurotic's perverted version of that "joy" whose absence from the lives of his fellow-citizens Ibsen was so continually lamenting.

In her program Miss Le Gallienne prints excerpts from the recently discovered notebooks of the author which throw a flood of light on some much-debated points in connection with his own conception of the character.

> The play [he writes] must be built around "the Inevitable," the hankering after and aiming at something that stands against all conventions, established customs, in one's consciousness—also Hedda's. . . . There lies deep poetry at the bottom of Hedda's nature. . . . She wants to lead a man's life. But then come hesitations—the inherited deep-rooted beliefs. . . . One marries Tesman but one occupies one's imagination with Lovborg. One leans back in one's chair, closes one's eyes, and pictures his adventures. . . . She cannot do it herself—cannot take part in the other one's goal—so she shoots herself.

Interpretations of Hedda are as various, almost, as interpre-

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tations of Hamlet, and for much the same reason. Like Hamlet she is wonderfully convincing as a person even when one is least sure what rational account to give of her motives. But in the light of her creator's own working notes there can hardly be doubt any longer concerning the main outlines of his intention. She is a heroine *manquée* and not only *a* heroine but *the* Ibsen heroine. She longs for all the things which Ibsen desired and thought most admirable. She wants to be "free," to seek the joy and the meaning of life without regard for convention or safety. To her, as to the author of so many plays about very limited people, the meaning of life is to be found in ecstasy. But though she perceives the fact, she is incapable of rising to the heights which she despises others for not being even aware of. She is a coward and she is sterile. But, so Ibsen seems to say, it is something to be capable of even a sickness like hers.

Paul Leyssac plays Tesman with a true appreciation of the humor in the part, and indeed the whole of the present production reveals a fine sense of those elements of cruel comedy involved. As for Miss Le Gallienne's "Hedda," it is, I think, one of her best roles and remarkable for its delicacy as well as its strength. Too often the character is played luridly, as though Hedda were a vampire in the Kipling tradition. Miss Le Gallienne remembers that Ibsen himself described her as "distinctly a lady, by her position and by her character." She is, in other words, as dangerous as she is for the very reason that her disease is not evident on the surface.

In "Post Road" (Masque Theater) Wilbur Daniel Steele and Norma Mitchell have undertaken to provide a mystery melodrama with a difference. Instead of the usual tough background they have chosen a respectable "tourists accommodated" establishment as the setting for the nefarious activities of a gang, and they delude us for a while with the pretense that they are writing a "folksy" comedy before startling us into the realization that some very dirty work is afoot. Personally, I found the variation quite agreeable, and I recommend the piece to those who still like gun-play, in spite of the fact that they are a bit weary of the conventional machinery.

The deep voice of Libby Holman resounds periodically in the elaborate comic opera "Revenge with Music" (New Amsterdam Theater). The plot, taken from "The Three-Cornered Hat," is treated pretty much in the established comic-opera tradition, but the production is extremely elaborate, very colorful, and diversified with some excellent dancing in a manner more or less Spanish. I should call it decidedly one of the better things of its kind.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

A New Garbo?

LIKE Chaplin, with whom alone she may be compared in the range and length of her popularity, Miss Garbo presents difficulties to those people who like to find an explanation for every subjective influence which acts upon them. It has always been discouraging, for example, to discover in Miss Garbo a contemporary recreation of the Aphrodite symbol. Beauty enough is there, to be sure, but not the kind of beauty which consists in a perfect idealization of the unique physical features of either of the two established sexes. It was in the nature of the image that Miss Garbo constituted for her generation that its appeal should hold good for all the different sexes. To be truly universal, she had to be as sexless in her essential appeal as Chaplin or as Mickey Mouse. But the great beauty of Miss Garbo is a fact, or a pretty generally accepted fact, and only by concentrating on it can one hope to

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☐ JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH says ☐

ANYTHING GOES. Alvin Theater. Smart and tuneful review with Ethel Merman and Victor Moore. Consistently entertaining.

CIVIC REPERTORY CO. Broadhurst Theater. L'Aiglon; Hedda Gabler, reviewed in this issue, and The Cradle Song.

DARK VICTORY. Little Theater. Romantic melodrama about a spoiled and beautiful girl who discovers that she has only a year to live. An excellent role for Tallulah Bankhead.

DODSWORTH. Shubert Theater. Sidney Howard's beautiful dramatization of Sinclair Lewis's novel. If you did not see it last season you should this.

D'OYLY CARTE OPERA COMPANY. Gilbert and Sullivan Operas. Martin Beck Theater. English company in the best performances of the familiar operas that you are likely ever to see. Last week.

GOLD EAGLE GUY. Morosco Theater. Robust and picturesque drama of a Western empire builder. Beautifully done by the Group Theater Company, and one of the important plays of the year.

LIFE BEGINS AT 8:40. Winter Garden. A lively, talented, amusing show with several sketches above the average. The best of them is "Chin Up," which makes an English gentleman out of Bert Lahr. M.M.

MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG. Music Box. Ingenious, smooth, witty but rather mechanical drama about the youth of various successful men who meant when they were young to do really important things. Reveals the authors, Moss Hart and George Kaufman, in a mood rather more serious than usual.

PAGE MISS GLORY. Mansfield Theater. Reckless and usually funny farce about a prize beauty who is even dumber than usual.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE. Henry Miller Theater. Rough and ready entertainment with more laughs of the sort which originate below the neck than very many comedies can boast.

REVENGE WITH MUSIC. New Amsterdam. Reviewed in this issue. Closed for two weeks owing to a temporary painful injury to Mr. Winninger. Re-opening Monday evening, Dec. 24.

SAILORS OF CATTARO. Civic Repertory Theater. Opened Dec. 10. To be reviewed later.

SMALL MIRACLE. 48th St. Theater. Theft, murder, and adultery in a theater lobby. For those who like thick slices of what the writers of snappy melodrama call Life.

THE CHILDREN'S HOUR. Maxine Elliott Theater. Stunning performance by Florence McGee as the most despicable child ever seen on the stage. Powerful and intelligent despite a bad last act.

THE DISTAFF SIDE. Booth Theater. Much charm but very little excitement provided by John van Druten's mild play about a mild English family. Dame Sybil Thorndike is the mild mother.

THE FARMER TAKES A WIFE. Forty-Sixth St. Theater. Marc Connelly helps make a delightful play about life on the old Erie Canal. It's colorful, picturesque and amusing.

TOBACCO ROAD. Forrest Theater. Sub-human but fascinating behavior of the Georgia crackers.

VALLEY FORGE. Guild Theater. Opened Dec. 10. To be reviewed later.

WITHIN THE GATES. National Theater. Sean O'Casey's modern miracle play with Lillian Gish. Received with rapturous applause to which mine was not added.

arrive at any solution. If it is not with sex that beauty seeks an alliance, with what then, in Miss Garbo's case, does beauty reinforce its appeal? Nearly all the heroines portrayed by Miss Garbo have been well enough provided for to indulge in expensive adulteries in Riviera hotels or in remote tropic climes, and one might conclude that a glitter of a harder and more metallic quality supplies the reinforcement. But this is truer for almost any other screen actress than it is for Miss Garbo, who has revealed on several occasions how affecting she can be in even the humblest roles. The background of wealth is not constant, but there is another kind of background or atmosphere or mood which Miss Garbo evokes whether she is wearing the green hat of Iris March or the wilted plumage of Anna Christie. It is the background of sorrow, the atmosphere of disenchantment, the mood of frustration. And it may be in the impingement of frustration on beauty, in the breathing of the unhappy contemporary psyche into the classic form, that the alliance which we have been looking for will some day be found. It may be that Miss Garbo has really owed her renown to having given back to her generation a beautifully touched-up version of its own image.

Is it possibly because that generation has already begun to date that the advertisements of "The Painted Veil" promise us so loudly a *new* Garbo? Based on a story by Somerset Maugham which does not successfully conceal its triteness of situation beneath its several folds of exotic color, this picture is actually little suited to effecting a rebirth of any kind. Through most of its development it is hardly distinguishable from several other pictures in which Miss Garbo's considerable acting ability has been wasted: the wife of a young English doctor (Herbert Marshall) in a plague-ridden district in China is led by boredom into having an affair with a caddish member of the colony (George Brent). Only in the dénouement is there something like a variation. Instead of running her motor into a tree or leaping into the nearest Chinese pool, Miss Garbo takes up hospital work and is last seen in an exquisite nun's cowl by Adrian. But this transformation occupies only a few feet of celluloid at the end. Throughout the rest it is very much the old Garbo that we are permitted to see, and more happily at home amid these unfortunate occurrences than in any other picture in which she has appeared in some years.

"The Battle" is also a study of adultery with an Oriental background. It is a much better picture than its melodramatic conception, derived from Claude Farerre's novel, might lead one to expect: the patriotism of a Japanese naval officer who sacrifices not only his own but also his wife's honor for the sake of his country. Some of the naval battle scenes are excellent; and the ritual of hari-kari, which forms the climax, is put on the screen with vividness and with what may even be fidelity. The implications of the story are unfortunately ambiguous, however, and it is not clear whether the Japanese patriot is to be the more pitied or admired for his devotion to his country. "L'Agonie des Aigles" (Fifth Avenue Playhouse) is founded on the historical putsch of a group of Napoleonic officers who sought to place "L'Aiglon" on the throne of France. The film is as noisy a succession of harangues as a meeting of the Chamber of Deputies; and it is all too evident that it is a piece of French nationalist propaganda, with distinct fascist overtones.

WILLIAM TROY

Next Week

Burning Saints in Mexico

by Carleton Beals

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